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WITHDRAWN

JOHN PAUL JONES
COMMEMORATION

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JOHN PAUL JONES.

From the terra cotta colored bust, by Houdon, now in the National Academy of Design, New York.

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JOHN PAUL JONES

COMMEMORATION AT ANNAPOLIS
APRIL 24, 1906

COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE JOINT
COMMITTEE ON PRINTING BY CHARLES W. STEWART
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RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS

CONCURRENTLY ADOPTED JUNE 29, 1906

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed and bound 11,000 copies of the addresses delivered at the exercises commemorative of John Paul Jones, at the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., April 24, 1906, together with other papers and illustrations germane thereto, to be compiled and published under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing; 7,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, 3,000 for the use of the Senate, and 1,000 for distribution by the Secretary of the Navy.

United States. Congress.
Joint Committee on Printing

John Paul Jones
commemoration at Annapolis

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INTRODUCTION

THIS volume has been compiled in the office of Library and Naval War Records, Navy Department, under authorization of the Joint Committee on Printing. It includes:

The addresses delivered at the United States Naval Academy, April 24, 1906, printed from copy furnished by the distinguished speakers of the day;

The official report of General Horace Porter to the State Department, with inclosures and illustrations which set forth the search for, discovery, and identification of the body of John Paul Jones;

An extract from the report of Rear-Admiral Sigsbee describing the most important ceremonies connected with the John Paul Jones expedition, including the transfer in Paris of the body from First Special Ambassador Porter to Junior Special Ambassador Loomis, and from the latter to Rear-Admiral Sigsbee, and its transportation from Paris to the United States Naval Academy and deposit in the now historic brick vault, where it lay under guard for the nine months preceding April 24, 1906;

Letters and illustrations selected from authentic correspondence and portraiture for the purpose of showing the character and personal appearance of our first great sea fighter;

The chronology, prepared mainly from carded data collected in searches for information in answer to inquiries.

General Porter's report includes plans and illustrations which show in part the dangers and difficulties which he encountered and overcame. The reports of the official engineer who supervised the excavations and of the physicians and microscopist who examined the body establish the thoroughness of the explorations of the cemetery and the pathological conditions that existed within the body at the time of death. The illustration by means of microphotographs of vital organs of a man born in 1747 is unique. These reports are an important part of the testimony that establishes the identity of the body.

The report of Rear-Admiral Sigsbee is a part of the history of France and of the United States of America.

The facsimiles of Jones's writing, dated 1770, 1778, and 1786, having the characteristic signatures Jno. Paul, Jno. P. Jones, and J. Paul Jones (or Paul Jones) have been prepared from the originals now preserved in Scotland. The portraits here reproduced (except those by Henri Toussaint and Miss Beaux) were probably made during the life of John Paul Jones.

It is not possible to determine that every statement in the chronology is accurate, but a reference for every item is given in convenient form, and statements known to be incorrect generally have been omitted.

SUMMARY

THE 24th of April, 1906, was chosen for the commemorative exercises in honor of John Paul Jones by President Roosevelt because it was the anniversary of Jones's famous capture of the British ship of war *Drake*, off Carrickfergus, in 1778. This date occurred during the session of Congress, the academic year at the United States Naval Academy, and the convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington.

The Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, issued the invitations. The admirable arrangements at the United States Naval Academy were made by Rear-Admiral Sands, U. S. Navy, Superintendent. Invitations were sent to the President; the ambassador and embassy of France; the principal officers of the Government, legislative, executive, and judicial; the Navy; the Army; governors of States; the militia; patriotic societies, and distinguished men and women of America. Cards of admission were mailed, as acceptances were received, by the Secretary of the Navy. Special trains were provided for the Presidential and Congressional parties from Washington and the regular train service was increased from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington to Annapolis.

April 24 was clear and cool with a fresh northwesterly breeze. The Presidential train arrived at Annapolis at 12:45 p. m. and was met by the Superintendent of the Naval Academy and the academic board with automobiles. A national salute was fired from the U. S. S. *Hartford*, the famous old flagship of Farragut at New Orleans and Mobile Bay. Two companies of the Thirteenth U. S. Cavalry, under Col. Charles A. P. Hatfield, U. S. Army, furnished an escort to the Superintendent's house, where luncheon was served. The President and party, in motor cars, were then escorted by a battalion of midshipmen to the armory, through lines of midshipmen, French sailors, United States sailors, marines, troopers, and thousands of cheering spectators. The President, with the speakers of the day, escorted by the Secretary of the Navy and the Superintendent, entered the armory at 2.24 p. m. and mounted the speakers' stand. The audience rose and remained standing while the Baltimore Oratorio Society sang the "Star-Spangled Banner."

The casket containing the body of John Paul Jones rested upon trestles before the stand, under a guard composed of petty officers of the navies of France and the United States. The casket was draped with the Union Jack, and upon it lay a wreath of laurel, a spray of palm, and the gold-mounted sword presented by Louis XVI of France to the conqueror of the *Serapis*. The armory and speakers' stand were decorated with the colors of France and the United States of America. Facing the stand and casket were Admiral George Dewey, U. S. Navy; Rear-Admiral Campion, commanding the French squadron; Rear-Admirals Charles H. Davis and Royal B. Bradford, U. S. Navy, commanding United States squadrons. Behind these flag-officers were seated their aids, the visiting officers of France, and the heads of departments of the Academy. Seats on each side of this central section faced toward the center of the armory. Sections of seats were reserved for Senators and Members of Congress and other special parties. The audience was representative of the patriotism and traditions of the nation. The Senate, the House, the Cabinet, every branch of the Government, and national patriotic societies were represented.

The silence that followed the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" was broken by the clear, incisive voice of Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, presenting the President.

The President spoke for thirty minutes and was frequently interrupted by applause. Every speaker was presented by the Secretary of the Navy and each received close attention and warm approval. The official programme was executed without variation.

The exercises in the armory closed at 4.38 p. m. with the rendering of "How Sleep the Brave." The audience stood in silence and the casket was taken to the space beneath the stairs in Bancroft Hall, where, in the presence of the distinguished officials, Chaplain Clark, U. S. Navy, offered a simple prayer, the last rite of the official programme. The casket, draped with the Union Jack, was left under the care of a marine guard, where it will remain until transferred to the crypt in the Naval Academy chapel.

The President of the United States sent to the President of France the following telegram:

[Cablegram.]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, April 24, 1906.

To the PRESIDENT OF FRANCE:

On the occasion of the formal reception at Annapolis of the body of John Paul Jones I wish to thank you and, through you, the great French nation for its distinguished courtesy in connection with this event—a courtesy of a kind which serves to keep even more vividly before us the invaluable aid rendered by France to this country at what was well-nigh the most critical period of its history. France holds a peculiar place in the heart of the American people, and on behalf of that people I wish all success, prosperity, and happiness to the mighty Republic over which you preside.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Thus ended the formal official ceremonies relating to the homecoming of John Paul Jones. There is no event in our history attended with such pomp and circumstance of glory, magnificence, and patriotic fervor.

Events other than commemorative ceremonies were as follows:

April 21, 1906: French squadron of armored cruisers, *Amiral Aube*, *Condé*, and *Marseillaise*, under Rear-Admiral Campion, arrived at Annapolis.

April 23: Rear-Admiral Campion and ranking French naval officers visited Washington; at 2 p. m., reception at the White House, followed by receptions at Navy Department and War Department. In the evening a dinner, followed by a reception, at the White House.

April 24: At Annapolis, luncheon to Presidential party by the Superintendent. Receptions by Governor Warfield and Mrs. Warfield and officers of the Naval Academy.

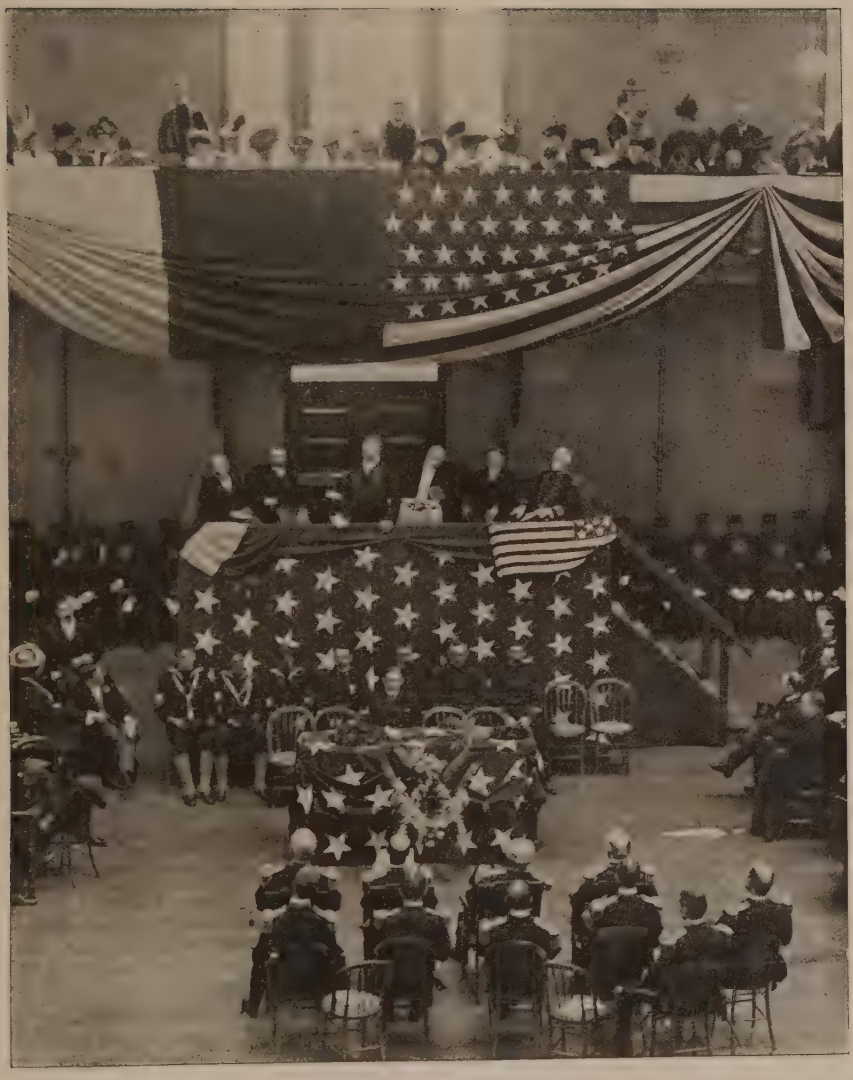
April 25: At 1.30 p. m. luncheon given to French officers by the Secretary of the Navy at the New Willard Hotel. In evening a dinner, followed by a reception, at the embassy of France.

April 26: Assistant Secretary of the Navy Newberry entertained French naval officers aboard the U. S. S. *Dolphin* on a visit to Mount Vernon. The ambassador of France and Rear-Admiral Campion attended at Annapolis the laying of the corner stone of the monument to French sailors and soldiers who died in the American Revolution.

April 27: The French squadron sailed from Annapolis Roads.

The collection of data presented in this volume has been made possible by the assistance of many persons. Gen. Horace Porter; Capt. John S. Barnes; D. Appleton & Co.; Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan; Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, Mrs. A. H. Eastman; Capt. John Hope, R. N.; Rear-Admiral C. H. Stockton, U. S. Navy; Capt. G. P. Colvocoresses, U. S. Navy; Prof. Philip R. Alger, U. S. Navy; Pay Director Joseph Foster, U. S. Navy; Mr. Robert W. Neeser; Mr. H. C. Gauss; Mr. J. G. Wood, of Edenton, N. C., and many others have furnished information, illustrations, or correspondence. Their courtesy, consideration, and interest are gratefully acknowledged.

CHARLES W. STEWART,
Superintendent Library and Naval War Records, Compiler.



SPEAKERS' STAND AND CASKET IN ARMORY OF UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY, APRIL 24, 1906.

View from center of northeast gallery. From stereograph, copyright, 1906, by Underwood & Underwood, New York.

I. ADDRESSES AT ANNAPOLIS APRIL 24, 1906

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE introduced the President in the following words: FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: We have met to honor the memory of that man who gave our Navy its earliest traditions of heroism and victory. The Commander in Chief of the Navy is of right the first to speak of such a man at such a time. You will hear the President.

ON BEHALF of the American people I wish to thank our ancient ally, the great French nation, that proud and gallant nation to whose help we once owed it that John Paul Jones was able to win for the Stars and Stripes the victory that has given him deathless fame, and to whose courtesy we now owe it that the body of the long-dead hero has been sent hither, and that to commemorate the reception of the illustrious dead a squadron of French war ships has come to our shores.

The annals of the French navy are filled with the names of brave and able seamen, each of whom courted death as a mistress when the honor of his flag was at stake; and among the figures of these brave men there loom the larger shapes of those who, like Tourville, Duquesne, and the Bailli de Suffren, won high renown as fleet admirals, inferior to none of any navy of their day in martial prowess.

In addition to welcoming the diplomatic and official representatives of France here present, let me also express my heartiest acknowledgments to our former ambassador to Paris, Gen. Horace Porter, to whose zealous devotion we particularly owe it that the body of John Paul Jones has been brought to our shores.

When the body was thus brought over the representatives of many different cities wrote to me, each asking that it should find its last

resting place in his city. But I feel that the place of all others in which the memory of the dead hero will most surely be a living force is here in Annapolis, where year by year we turn out the midshipmen who are to officer in the future the Navy, among whose founders the dead man stands first. Moreover, the future naval officers, who live within these walls, will find in the career of the man whose life we this day celebrate, not merely a subject for admiration and respect, but an object lesson to be taken into their innermost hearts. Every officer in our Navy should know by heart the deeds of John Paul Jones. Every officer in our Navy should feel in each fiber of his being an eager desire to emulate the energy, the professional capacity, the indomitable determination and dauntless scorn of death which marked John Paul Jones above all his fellows.

The history of our Navy, like the history of our nation, extends over a period of only a century and a quarter; yet we already have many memories of pride to thrill us as we read and hear of what has been done by our fighting men of the sea, from Perry and Macdonough to Farragut and Dewey.[a] These memories include brilliant victories, and also, now and then, defeats only less honorable than the victories themselves; but the only defeats to which this praise can be given are those where, against heavy odds, men have stood to the death in hopeless battle. It is well for every American officer to remember that while a surrender may or may not be defensible, the man who refuses to surrender need never make a defense. The one fact must always be explained; the other needs no explanation. Moreover, he who would win glory and honor for the nation and for himself, must not too closely count the odds; if he does, he will never see such a day as that when Cushing sank the *Albemarle*.

In his fight with the *Serapis* Jones's ship was so badly mauled that his opponent hailed him, saying "Has your ship struck?" to which Jones answered, "I have not yet begun to fight." The spirit which inspired that answer upbore the man who gave it and the crew who served under him through the fury of the battle, which finally ended

[a] The President's mention of the name of Admiral Dewey brought forth hearty applause.

The President, looking directly at the Admiral, said in his kindliest manner: "Presidents are all well enough in their way, but it's worth while in life to have had a First of May."

The audience again applauded and Rear-Admiral Campion heartily shook the hand of Admiral Dewey.—COMPILER.

in their triumph. It was the same spirit which marked the commanders of the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, when they met an equally glorious though less fortunate fate. The *Cumberland* sank, her flag flying, and her guns firing with the decks awash, while, when summoned to surrender, Morris replied, "Never! I'll sink alongside!" and made his words good. Immediately after the *Cumberland* was sunk the *Congress* was attacked, and her commander, Lieut. Joe Smith, was killed. After fighting until she was helpless, and being unable to bring her guns to bear, the ship was surrendered; but when Smith's father, old Commodore Joe Smith, who was on duty at Washington, saw by the dispatches from Fort Monroe that the *Congress* had hoisted the white flag, he said quietly, "Then Joe's dead!" Surely no father could wish to feel a prouder certainty of his boy's behavior than the old commodore showed he possessed when he thus spoke; and no naval officer could hope to win a finer epitaph.

We have met to-day to do honor to the mighty dead. Remember that our words of admiration are but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals if we do not by steady preparation and by the cultivation of soul and mind and body fit ourselves so that in time of need we shall be prepared to emulate their deeds. Let every midshipman who passes through this institution remember, as he looks upon the tomb of John Paul Jones, that while no courage can atone for the lack of that efficiency which comes only through careful preparation in advance, through careful training of the men, and careful fitting out of the engines of war, yet that none of these things can avail unless in the moment of crisis the heart rises level with the crisis. The navy whose captains will not surrender is sure in the long run to whip the navy whose captains will surrender, unless the inequality of skill or force is prodigious. The courage which never yields can not take the place of the possession of good ships and good weapons and the ability skillfully to use these ships and these weapons.

I wish that our people as a whole, and especially those among us who occupy high legislative or administrative positions, would study the history of our nation, not merely for the purpose of national self-gratification, but with the desire to learn the lessons that history teaches. Let the men who talk lightly about its being unnecessary for us now to have an army and navy adequate for the work of this nation in the world remember that such utterances are not merely

foolish, for in their effects they may at any time be fraught with disaster and disgrace to the nation's honor as well as disadvantage to its interest. Let them take to heart some of the lessons which should be learned by the study of the War of 1812.

As a people we are too apt to remember only that some of our ships did well in that war. We had a few ships—a very few ships—and they did so well as to show the utter folly of not having enough of them. Thanks to our folly as a nation, thanks to the folly that found expression in the views of those at the seat of government, not a ship of any importance had been built within a dozen years before the war began, and the Navy was so small that, when once the war was on, our opponents were able to establish a close blockade throughout the length of our coast, so that not a ship could go from one port to another, and all traffic had to go by land. Our parsimony in not preparing an adequate navy (which would have prevented the war) cost in the end literally thousands of dollars for every one dollar we thus foolishly saved. After two years of that war an utterly inconsiderable British force of about four thousand men was landed here in the bay, defeated with ease a larger body of raw troops put against it, and took Washington.

I am sorry to say that those of our countrymen who now speak of the deed usually confine themselves to denouncing the British for having burned certain buildings in Washington. They had better spare their breath. The sin of the invaders in burning the buildings is trivial compared with the sin of our own people in failing to make ready an adequate force to defeat the attempt. This nation was guilty of such shortsightedness, of such folly, of such lack of preparation that it was forced supinely to submit to the insult and was impotent to avenge it; and it was only the good fortune of having in Andrew Jackson a great natural soldier that prevented a repetition of the disaster at New Orleans. Let us remember our own shortcomings, and see to it that the men in public life to-day are not permitted to bring about a state of things by which we should in effect invite a repetition of such a humiliation.

We can afford as a people to differ on the ordinary party questions; but if we are both farsighted and patriotic we can not afford to differ on the all-important question of keeping the national defenses as they should be kept; of not alone keeping up, but of going on

with building up of the United States Navy, and of keeping our small Army at least at its present size and making it the most efficient for its size that there is on the globe. Remember, you here who are listening to me, that to applaud patriotic sentiments and to turn out to do honor to the dead heroes who by land or by sea won honor for our flag is only worth while if we are prepared to show that our energies do not exhaust themselves in words; if we are prepared to show that we intend to take to heart the lessons of the past and make things ready so that if ever, which heaven forbid, the need should arise, our fighting men on sea and ashore shall be able to rise to the standard established by their predecessors in our services of the past.

Those of you who are in public life have a moral right to be here at this celebration to-day only if you are prepared to do your part in building up the Navy of the present; for otherwise you have no right to claim lot or part in the glory and honor and renown of the Navy's past.

So much for what we in civil life outside of public office and within it are to do for you, and must do for you, in the Navy. Let you in the Navy remember that you must do your part. You will be worthless in war if you have not prepared yourselves for it in peace. You will be utterly unable to rise to the needs of the crisis if you have not by long years of steady and patient work fitted yourselves to get the last ounce of work out of every man, every gun, and every ship in the fleet; if you have not practiced steadily on the high seas until each ship can do its best, can show at its best, alone or in conjunction with others in fleet formation. Remember that no courage can ever atone for lack of that preparedness which makes the courage valuable; and yet if the courage is there, if the dauntless heart is there, its presence will sometimes make up for other shortcomings; while if with it are combined the other military qualities the fortunate owner becomes literally invincible.

DRESS SWORD PRESENTED BY LOUIS XVI. TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

From plates furnished by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia and published by permission of the owner of the sword, Mr. Richard Dale. For description see Appendix.

ADDRESS OF AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE introduced the ambassador in the following words: In those exploits which made Paul Jones famous, French sailors were his comrades in arms. In the long and bloody war which gave us national life France was our generous ally. This day were incomplete without a word from France. I ask you to hear her ambassador.

THE PIOUS action and unconquerable energy of a son of America, one who served her in war as a general, in peace as an ambassador, has brought back to these shores the ashes of the famous sailor who first made known to the world that the new nation just born beyond the seas was meant to be a great nation; that is, great on land and great on sea. In his search for the sacred relics of John Paul Jones, General Porter had no help but his patriotism. For a good citizen this is help enough.

The burial which is now awarded to the naval hero is such as he deserved and it fits the circumstances of his life. This life, as the life of many other defenders of American independence, offers this characteristic trait: that a French element is, in some way or other, mixed with it. It is difficult to name Washington without remembering La Fayette and to name Franklin without thinking of his rôle in Paris. It is the same with Paul Jones, and at this day, when supreme honors are rendered to his memory, when the Chief of the State has praised him in words the value of which is immensely enhanced by the character and personal fame of the orator, it is a fitting circumstance that French sailors who crossed the ocean for this purpose be now seen mounting guard round his body.

Paul Jones's connection with things and men of France began early, and, as most events in his short and brilliant career, was quaint and romantic. It is a pleasant memory to recall that little scene at a roadside inn by Alexandria—near the empty plains where the national capital was one day to rise—that little scene between two young men, one of foreign appearance, in great trouble to make himself understood and

get horses to continue his journey, which was toward the Congress sitting then at Philadelphia; the other "a slender, black-haired, black-eyed, swarthy gentleman, in a naval uniform and of most martial and distinguished bearing" (as his chance companion described him later). The naval officer proffered his help, made the innkeeper understand, and enabled the foreigner to proceed on his journey. The foreigner was young La Fayette, just arrived from France, the other was Paul Jones. On that day began between them a friendship meant to last as long as lives which, unknown to either, were to be for both so glorious.

Begun under such auspices, Paul Jones's career continued, more and more connected with France. In 1777 he crossed the ocean on his famous *Ranger* in time to receive the first salute offered by any navy to the Stars and Stripes. And it is a satisfaction to think that, while the American ship was commanded by no less a man than Paul Jones, who was to take the *Serapis*, the French squadron which returned the salute was commanded by no less a man than La Motte Piquet, who was to gather his first laurels when fighting for American independence.

During the greatest and most heroical part of his career Paul Jones's main quarters were in France. There he found not only ships and supplies, but friendship and admiration. French sailors and soldiers were eager to fight under such a chief, in company with Americans. The recruiting of these last, owing to the distance, was not always easy, but of Frenchmen he naturally had an abundance. On board the *Bonhomme Richard*, he said in the last year of his life, "part of the voices sounded in my native tongue, but more in the language of France." And the temper of both crews was the same. Concerning his French volunteers he said on the same occasion: "In case of battle I simply let my Frenchmen fight their battle out," which is exactly the method ever followed by American chiefs with American soldiers or sailors.

After each of his campaigns he returned to Paris more and more popular at court, in society, and among officers, the good will toward him almost equaling that which everyone there bore to Franklin.

When independence was proclaimed, and that treaty was signed at Versailles, which increased by one the number of free nations, the best days of Paul Jones were over. His fate resembled in this that of his French brethren of the sea. The sacred cause of independence had been for most of them the occasion of their life's best work, and fickle fortune had stood, for once, on the side of the good cause. The work

done, fortune abandoned them all; she abandoned to a more or less unhappy fate d'Estaing, de Grasse, Suffren, and Paul Jones himself. He died in France, who had proved for him another motherland, and who honored him dead as she had alive.

But he had done his life's work, and that work consisted not only in playing splendidly his part in the struggle for freedom, but also in showing the young Republic the importance of having a navy of her own. "This is the best means," he wrote as early as 1775, "to create a great and most desirable sentiment and respect toward us," and he did not conceal that his dream was to be one of "the pioneers of a new power on the sea with untold prospect of development."

His dream, or, rather, his prophecy, has been fulfilled. He was one of those pioneers, and the new power on the sea which he helped to raise has proved to have indeed an "untold prospect of development."

To no nation can such a development be more welcome than to the one who first applauded the birth of the incipient American Navy, and it is for France a souvenir to be proud of, to remember that the earliest of those ships meant to carry the thirteen stripes and the "thirteen stars in a blue field, representing a new constellation," as reads the resolution of Congress passed in 1777, was the *Alliance*, an appropriate name, built exactly on the model of the French frigate *La Terpsichore*, the plan of which had been given to Jones by the Duke de Chartres out of sympathy for America.

Now the smoke of the fights of those heroical days has vanished; perennial independence has been secured and peace has been established—real peace, fecund peace, the one which sweeps away, or at least allows the dying out of former animosities and hatred. And such a peace now reigns and has long and shall long reign, I hope, between the nations who met then as enemies on land and on sea.

Paul Jones will sleep his last sleep at the place most congenial to his valiant soul, by the shores of that Chesapeake Bay at the entrance of which the combined action of Washington, Rochambeau, and de Grasse ended the war; in that town of Annapolis, where, year after year, are formed generations of officers who continue their ancestors' traditions on board the more and more numerous and more and more powerful American Navy.

In this same town of Annapolis, ever noted for its patriotism, when the news came that the war was over and independence secured, thirteen

toasts were drunk, each accompanied with thirteen cannon, and the first three of those toasts were:

1. "The third of February, 1783, in perpetual memory, on which day a virtuous war was concluded by an honorable peace."

2. "The United States. May their confederacy endure forever."

3. "Friendship with France."

In such wishes, after so many years, concur the hearts of all Frenchmen and all Americans. In such wishes would surely concur the great heart of the sailor whom we honor on this day.

PROFILE OF BUST FROM DE BIRON COLLECTION.

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FRONT VIEW OF BUST FROM DE BIRON COLLECTION.

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ADDRESS OF GENERAL PORTER

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE introduced the General in the following words: For more than a century the mortal remains of our first great sailor lay in an unknown grave, lost to his country and the world. The generosity and patriotism of a distinguished citizen, already noted for eminent public service in war and peace, have freed us from this national reproach. I introduce to you General Horace Porter.

THIS day America reclaims her illustrious dead. We gather here in the presence of the Chief Magistrate of the nation and of this vast concourse of representative citizens of the Old World and the New to pay our homage to the leading historic figure in the early annals of the American Navy, to testify that his name is not a dead memory, but a living reality, to quicken our sense of appreciation, and to give assurance that the transfer of his remains to the land upon whose arms he shed so much luster is not lacking in distinction by reason of the long delay.

The history of John Paul Jones reads more like romance than reality. It is more like a fabled tale of ancient days than the story of an American sailor of only a century and a quarter ago. As light and shade produce the most attractive effects in a picture, so the singular contrasts, the strange vicissitudes of his eventful life, surround him with an interest that attaches to few of the world's celebrities. His rise from the humble master's apprentice to the command of conquering squadrons; his transition from the low-born peasant boy to the favorite of imperial courts; crouching at times within the shadow of obscurity, at other times standing on the highest pinnacle of fame—these are some of the features of his marvelous career that appeal to the imagination, excite men's wonder, and fascinate the minds of all who make a study of his life.

The two distinct natures he possessed lend a peculiar interest to his personality. He displayed the fierce temerity of the ancient sea kings combined with the knightly courtesy of mediæval chivalry. At one time we find him aboard the *Bonhomme Richard*, the frail merchantman

he had hurriedly converted into a man-of-war, equipped with condemned guns, whose explosion early decimated his crew, attacking the *Serapis*, a superior British ship, just off her own shores, his vessel soon a wreck and sinking, most of his guns disabled, half of his motley crew of Americans and French lying about him dead or dying, the scuppers running with human blood, his ship a charnel house, over 200 prisoners confined in the hold rushing up from their prison and attacking the remnant of his exhausted crew, his own consort even, with her treacherous captain, raking his vessel with her fire, flame and smoke issuing from the lower deck filled with splinters, the mad carnage raging till it seemed that hell itself had usurped the place of earth, the undaunted commander in the very thickest of the combat, hatless and begrimed with powder, the very incarnation of battle, preparing to lead a boarding party and try this one desperate chance of success, and when asked by his antagonist, who saw his desperate condition, whether he had struck his flag, replying, "I've just begun to fight!" Then, by the inspiration of his example, forging weaklings into giants, capturing his opponent, snatching victory from defeat, and transferring his crew to his prize just in time to see his own ship sink beneath the waves with the flag still floating defiantly from the mast.

At another time we see him arrayed in the height of fashion, displaying an easy manner and marked elegance in the brilliant salons of the most polite courts of Europe, replying gracefully to the compliments of kings and princes in fluent English, French, and Spanish, showing that he could tread the polished floor of a royal palace as becomingly as the blood-stained deck of a man-of-war.

He was a many-sided man. On the water he was the wizard of the sea; on the land he showed himself an adept in the realms of diplomacy. While his exploits as a sailor eclipsed by their brilliancy his triumphs as a diplomat, he often proved himself a master both of the science of state craft and the subtleties of diplomacy. He early urged upon the Government the policy of weakening the blockade so disastrous to the colonies, which were essentially commercial, by sending war ships into Great Britain's home waters, attacking her vast commerce on the sea, compelling her to keep fleets at home to protect it, raiding her coasts, and bringing to her people an awakening sense of the realities of war in order that they might tire of it. He aimed to save his prizes, so that he could exhibit captured British war ships in French ports, show the

people the hopefulness of the cause of the colonies, stimulate the government of that power, and encourage it to send armies and fleets to our relief.

His chief diplomatic triumph was when he took the captured *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* into the principal harbor of Holland for the express purpose of raising irritating questions regarding the rights of belligerent vessels in neutral ports and embroiling England in a war with Holland. He undertook this mission of his own initiative and against the advice of such experienced diplomatists as De Vauguyon, the French ambassador to Holland, and Dumas, the eminent international lawyer. By his ingenuity and the signal ability of his correspondence he succeeded perfectly in his undertaking, and England soon had another foe arrayed against her. By a rare tact he escaped giving offense to Holland and at the same time avoided wounding the susceptibilities of France.

So much was our Government impressed by this and other exhibitions of his rare diplomatic skill that it intrusted him with the delicate and difficult mission of collecting international claims.

Washington said of him, in a letter addressed to Congressman Hewes:

> Mr. Jones is clearly not only a master mariner within the scope of the art of navigation, but he also holds a strong and profound sense of the political and military weight of command at sea.

Jefferson, by direction of Washington, intrusted him with a diplomatic mission to Holland to see whether that State could be induced to join us in an expedition against the pirates of the Barbary coast, and made known that it was the President's desire to give him command of a squadron for such a purpose. But his death intervened before the necessary ships could be furnished.

Paul Jones had written in French an exceedingly able pamphlet entitled "Treatise on the Existing State of the French Navy," which produced a profound impression. Napoleon, when first consul, was so struck by it that he had it reprinted, and the title-page bore the inscription "Written by the great American and Russian Admiral."

When Paul Jones took his prizes into the ports of Holland the English minister there distinguished himself by constantly alluding in official correspondence to the conqueror of the *Serapis* as "a certain Paul Jones, a pirate." Next to the Admiral's able and complete refutation of this unfounded characterization, made to the Dutch States-General and

accepted by them, perhaps his best answer was the explanation he wittily gave sometime afterwards in a conversation.

> Having been alluded to as a pirate [said he], I looked up the authoritative definitions of that epithet, and found among them "Pirate—one who is at war with mankind." I am holding a regular commission as a naval officer in an honorable service and making war only upon the armed enemies of my country. England is at war with America, France, Holland, and Spain, and engaged in provoking war in several colonies, and it seems to me that she is the pirate, not I.

When he landed a force in England and his sailors carried off a quantity of silver plate from Lord Selkirk's estate, Paul Jones purchased it from the crew, who then owned it and counted its value as prize money, paying for it $700 out of his own pocket, a large sum in those days, and as soon as he could procure the means of communicating, returned it and received a handsome acknowledgment from Lord Selkirk. Lord Dunmore, on the contrary, heading a party of British and Tories, completely ravaged the plantation on which Paul Jones had established himself in Virginia, burned to the ground his houses and mill, destroyed his wharf, killed his cattle, and carried off his able-bodied slaves of both sexes to be sold in Jamaica. If piracy there was, the record stamps not Paul Jones, but Lord Dunmore, as the pirate.

One of the most conspicuous traits in the character of our illustrious sailor was his pronounced and enthusiastic loyalty to America. In a letter to Jefferson in 1788 he said:

> I can never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States.

At another time he wrote:

> I do not wish to engage in privateering. My object is not that of private gain, but to serve the public in a way that may reflect credit on our infant Navy and give prestige to our country on the sea.

And yet this is the man whom calumny has called a privateersman.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, after he had presented to Congress, by request, his celebrated suggestions for the organization of an efficient navy—a plan as applicable fundamentally to the service to-day as then—he wrote:

> As this is to be the foundation, or, I may say, the first keel timber of a new navy, which all patriots must hope shall become the foremost of the world * * *.

And, again:

> If by exceedingly desperate fighting one of our ships shall conquer one of theirs of markedly superior force, we shall be hailed as the pioneers of a new power on the sea with untold prospects of development.

Prophetic words from the man who was destined to fight just such a battle.

Paul Jones never sailed in a man-of-war whose quarter-deck was worthy of being trodden by his feet. His battles were won not by his ships, but by his genius. Employing the feeble vessels given him or which he himself procured, he sailed forth boldly to strike the enemies of his country's liberty wherever he could find them and paused not till he dipped the fringes of his banners in the home waters of the mistress of the seas. He captured some sixty vessels from the foremost of naval powers, made four bold descents upon the land, seized large quantities of arms and military stores, destroyed more than a million dollars' worth of property on the sea, and took hundreds of prisoners whose capture was used to force an exchange and release our men, who were being slowly tortured to death in the loathsome, pestilential prison hulks in Brooklyn. Congress afterwards thanked him by resolution for "his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States who had fallen under the power of the enemy."

He was the very personification of valor. He ranked courage as the manliest of human attributes. He loved brave men; he loathed cowards. He believed that there was scarcely a sin for which courage could not atone. He showed this trait in all the aphorisms he uttered, such as: "Boldness, not caution, wins"; "Men mean more than guns in the rating of ships"; "I am not calculating risks, but estimating the chances of success"; "The sources of success are quick resolve and swift stroke"; "Bravery is that cheerful kind of spirit that makes a man unable to believe that there is any such word as 'danger' in the dictionary, or, if so, not able to see why it should be there."

As long as manly courage is talked of or heroic deeds are honored there will remain green in the hearts of brave men the talismanic name of Paul Jones.

The admiral had that tenderness of heart which is usually coupled with true courage. While he could resort to stern measures in enforcing discipline and suppressing mutiny, he governed his crew more by attaching them to him by kind acts and just treatment than by corporal punishment. Referring to his command of the *Providence*, he wrote:

There was no cat-o'-nine tails aboard, because I threw the only one we had in the sea the first day out.

Again, he said:

I wish all my men to be contented and happy.

He was as generous as the sun itself. For a long time he bore all his personal expenses and abstained from presenting demands for pay to our poverty-stricken Government. When, in foreign seas, he found that the Government regulations did not authorize the pay the hand-bills of overzealous recruiting officers had promised to his sailors, he paid the difference out of his own pocket, so that his gallant crew should not feel that they were victims of a deception.

For one who lived in an age of loose morals and spent his youthful years amidst the temptations which then beset a seafaring man in the merchant service, he was singularly free from every form of dissipation. He had no fondness for revelry, jolly coffee-house dinners, or drinking bouts, which formed the principal amusements in foreign ports. While others were carousing ashore he was studying in his cabin, perfecting himself in history and languages, pondering upon the maneuvering of ships and the grand strategy of naval warfare, and paving the way for his future victories, which were won first with the brain, then with the sword.

Among his closest friends and most ardent admirers were Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, La Fayette, Hamilton, Wayne, Livingston, the two Morrises, and other eminent Americans. Not bad companionship for a "pirate."

Notwithstanding the gravity of his nature, he at times displayed a wit that could cut the sting from the keenest criticism and gild disappointment with a pleasantry.

He fashioned epigrams in prose and poetry.

Mrs. Livingston, in speaking of him in her diary as a conversationalist, said:

> He by turns delighted, amazed, and mystified us.

The Dutchess de Chartres wrote:

> Not Bayard or Charles le Téméraire could have laid his helmet at a lady's feet with such knightly dignity.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French admiral with whom Paul Jones once made a voyage, said:

> His talents are so wonderful and of such diversity that each day he brings forth some new proof of cleverness.

Franklin spoke of the "strange magnetism of his presence, the indescribable charm of his manner."

His criticisms and retorts were at times so caustic that they made him enemies. When Mr. Adams, at a reception in Philadelphia, attempted to relate an anecdote of Fontenelle in French, Paul Jones, upon being asked by some friends what he thought of Mr. Adams's French, replied, without reflecting that the remark might be repeated:

> If the political sentiments of Mr. Adams were as English as his French, he would be easily the greatest Tory in the land.

This came to the ears of Mr. Adams, and it was long before he forgave the Admiral for the criticism.

But his heart was not often attuned to mirth; its chords were frequently set to strains of sadness. For years he was engaged in a struggle against insubordination, treachery, jealousy, neglect at home, and abuse abroad. The people against whom he fought opened their floodgates of calumny. No misrepresentation of his acts was too gross, no distortion of history too monstrous. These well-concerted attacks of the pen were intended to set him before the Old World in an aspect that was a vicious caricature of his true nature, and they even gave so erroneous an impression of him in this country that it has required a century of time to correct it.

He was too actively engaged in making current history to spare much time in reading it, but he was once moved to write of his enemies:

> One may often correctly gauge one's merits by the virulence of their abuse.

He had to learn that "Reproach is a concomitant to greatness, as satire and invective were an essential part of a Roman triumph," and that in public life all arrows wound, the last one kills. He lived to realize that success is like sunshine, it brings out the vipers, and that the laurel is a narcotic that prevents others from sleeping.

Worn out with the fatigues of arduous service, at the untimely age of 45, alone in a foreign land, he surrendered to death, the only foe to whom he ever lowered his colors. By some strange and unaccountable fatality he was covered immediately with the mantle of forgetfulness. In all the annals of history there is not another case in which death has caused the memory of so conspicuous a man to drop at once from the height of prominence to the depth of oblivion.

He had been counted as one of the rarest contributions to earth's contingent of master spirits. He enjoyed the unique distinction of being

the first to hoist the present form of our flag upon an American man-of-war, the first to receive a salute to it from a foreign power, the first to raise it upon a hostile war ship of superior strength captured in battle, and under his command that banner was never once dethroned from its proud supremacy. He is the only commander in history who ever landed an American force upon a European coast.

Congress complimented him by a resolution, voted him a medal to commemorate his greatest victory, and awarded him the privilege of the floor of both Houses; he received a similar favor from the Constitutional Convention; the people of this and other lands organized public demonstrations in his honor; France knighted him, Louis XVI presented him with a gold-mounted sword, Denmark pensioned him, Catharine of Russia created him an admiral, conferred upon him imperial decorations, and loaded him with marks of distinction. If he had lived a little longer, he would in all probability have been named admiral of France. The rugged sailor had compelled the recognition of genius; the Scottish peasant boy had broken down the barriers of caste.

In life he was perhaps the most conspicuous personage on two continents, and yet the moment he was placed beneath the ground some strange fate seemed to decree that he was to be snatched from history and relegated to fiction. No inscription was engraved upon his coffin, no statue was erected in his honor, no ship was given his name, no public building was called after him. It required six years of research to find the apartment in which he had lived in Paris and held his brilliant salons, which were attended by the foremost celebrities of the period, and as long a time to discover his unmarked and forgotten grave.

When finally his exact place of burial had been definitely located by authentic documents and other positive evidence, the ground exhibited so repulsive an appearance that the aspect was painful beyond expression. There was presented the spectacle of a hero who had once been the idol of the American people lying for more than a century, like an obscure outcast, in an abandoned cemetery which had been covered later by a dump pile to a height of 15 feet, where dogs and horses had been buried, and the soil was soaked with polluted waters from undrained laundries. As busy feet tramped over the ground, the spirit of the hero who lay beneath might well have been moved to cry, in the words of the motto on his first flag, not in defiance, but in supplication then, "Don't

tread on me." No American citizen, upon contemplating on the spot those painful circumstances, could have shrunk from an attempt to secure for his remains a more deserving sepulcher.

When the body was exhumed, it was fortunately found perfectly preserved, with all the flesh intact, in consequence of having been buried in a leaden coffin filled with alcohol—the usual method of embalming in those days. There were only five leaden coffins in the entire cemetery, four of which were identified as those of strangers. While the features of the body in the fifth coffin were easily recognizable when compared with the accurate busts and medals of Paul Jones, while his initials were found upon the linen and the identity was convincing from the first, yet it was deemed prudent, on account of the importance of the subject, to submit the body to a thorough scientific examination by the most competent experts in the profession of anthropology, in order that the proofs might be authoritatively established and officially placed on record. The most eminent scientists of France, to whom we owe a lasting debt of gratitude, contributed their efforts to this task in the presence of the members of the American embassy and the consulate and the highest officials of the municipality of Paris.

The identification was rendered easy and was established with absolute certainty by reason of the authentic busts and medals obtainable for making the comparative measurements, the abundance of accurate information in existence descriptive of the dead, and the excellent state of preservation of the body, due to the alcohol, which enabled the scientists to perform an autopsy that verified in every particular the disease of which it was known the subject had died.

Twelve American or French persons took part in the identification, and after six days passed in the application of every conceivable test, their affirmative verdict was positive and unanimous and was formally certified to under the official seals of their respective departments, as may be seen from their reports filed with the Government, both in Washington and in Paris.

All that is mortal of the conqueror of the *Serapis* lies in yonder coffin. He bore the standard of his country for the first time to France; he returned with it draped upon his bier. That generous land, our traditional friend and former ally, now sends a squadron of her noble war ships to unite in doing honor to the memory of an illustrious brother sailor.

When Congress adopted the present form of the American flag, it embodied in the same resolution the appointment of Capt. John Paul Jones to command the ship *Ranger*. When he received the news history attributes to him this remark: "The flag and I are twins; born the same hour, from the same womb of destiny, we can not be parted in life or in death." Alas! they were parted during a hundred and thirteen years, but, happily, they are now reunited.

It was deemed well to bring back his body, in the belief that it would bring back his memory. Time has shed a clearer light upon his acts; distance has brought him into the proper focus to be viewed. A tree is best measured when it is down. His honored remains will be laid to rest in this historic spot in a mausoleum befitting his fame, but his true sepulcher will be the hearts of his countrymen. Generations yet to come will pause to read the inscription on his tomb, and its mute eloquence will plead for equal sacrifice should war again threaten the nation's life.

He was a lesson to his contemporaries; he will ever be an inspiration to his successors, for example teaches more than precept and patterns are better followed than rules.

He was taken all too soon from the living here to join the other living, commonly called the dead. When he passed the portals of eternity, earth mourned one hero less. We shall not meet him till he stands forth to answer to his name at roll call when the great of earth are summoned on the morning of the last great reveille. Till then, farewell, noblest of all spirits, bravest of all hearts. The simplicity of the rugged sailor was mingled with the heroic grandeur of your nature. Wherever blows fell thickest, your crest was in their midst. The story of your life rises to the sublimity of an epic. Untitled knight of the blue waters, "Wrathful Achilles of the Ocean," conqueror of the conquerors of the sea, the recollection of your deeds will never cease to thrill men with the splendor of events and inspire them with the majesty of achievement. You honored the generation in which you lived, and future ages will be illumined by the brightness of your glory.

INTERIOR VIEW OF ARMORY, UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY, APRIL 24, 1906.

View from center of northwest gallery. From stereograph, copyright, 1906, by Underwood & Underwood, New York.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR WARFIELD

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE introduced the Governor in the following words: Paul Jones was an immigrant; a native of none of our States; his glory belongs to them all. To speak for the thirteen he served and for the thirty-two since admitted to share the blessings of our national liberty and national greatness, we call upon that one which has given the nation its seat of rule and his remains their resting place. I present to you the Governor of Maryland.

AFTER the clear and striking portrayals of the character and genius of John Paul Jones, to which we have just listened with so much pleasure and profit, it would be superfluous to dwell further upon his personal traits or his wonderful naval achievements.

Whatever else may be said of him, there can be no doubt that the love of liberty was the master passion of his soul, and that he longed to have his name and fame associated with his adopted country, America.

What a remarkable fulfillment of that longing is this unique event, this splendid inspiring audience.

If "Honor's voice could provoke the silent dust, and flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of Death," then would this dead hero have heard the tribute, paid him one hundred and fourteen years after his death, by the patriotic President of the Republic which he helped to found—a Republic which has grown from a confederation of thirteen feeble struggling colonies to a mighty Union of forty-five sovereign States, with eighty millions of people.

When the news was flashed across the Atlantic just one year ago that Ambassador Porter's five years of weary searching had been crowned with success, that he had found and identified the remains of John Paul Jones, I at once, as governor of this State, urged through the public press that his body should be brought here for final entombment, upon the historic soil of Maryland, in yonder beautiful memorial chapel, which is destined to be the Westminster Abbey for our naval heroes.

Upon what more hallowed or appropriate ground could the ashes of this brilliant sea fighter rest? Would he not himself have selected this in preference to all other places?

Maryland is the birthplace, the nursery, of the American Navy. Here are trained the men whose duty it is to maintain the prestige and the power of our country upon the seas of the world.

In the beginning of our national history Maryland fitted out to support the patriot cause, at her own expense, a dozen war vessels. They were small, yet they did splendid service.

Joshua Barney, a Marylander, the first commodore of our Navy, the hero of two wars, commanded one of these vessels, and flung to the breeze in Maryland the first continental flag.

A Marylander, Samuel Nicholson, was a lieutenant under John Paul Jones on the *Bonhomme Richard* in the battle with the *Serapis*, and was later the first commander of the historic *Constitution*.

A Marylander, Stephen Decatur, in the war with Tripoli, with eighty men, cut out the *Philadelphia*, manned by fivefold his own force, and surrounded by hostile batteries and war vessels.

You, Mr. President, in your admirable and exhaustive History of the Naval War of 1812, pronounce this one of the boldest expeditions of the kind on record, and Lord Nelson declared it to be the most daring act of the age.

A Marylander, Midshipman Joseph Israel, was one of the officers who perished on the night of September 14, 1804, in the harbor of Tripoli, in the attempt to destroy the Tripolitan fleet.

A Marylander, Jesse Duncan Elliott, performed a feat on Lake Erie similar to that of Decatur in Tripoli, when he captured the *Detroit* and the *Caledonia*.

A Marylander, Commodore John Rodgers, fired the first gun in the brilliant naval war of 1812.

During that war Maryland furnished forty-six officers—one-fifth of the total number—more than were furnished by any other State, and more than by all New England combined.

In the number of privateers fitted out Maryland again heads the list, and you, Mr. President, estimate that she furnished at least one-eighth of all the sailors in that war.

In the war with Mexico, Maryland was equally prominent in the Navy, and it was a son of Maryland, Capt. W. A. T. Maddox, of the

Marine Corps, who first raised the Stars and Stripes over that portion of our land which lies along the Pacific.

I will not dwell upon Maryland's naval record in the civil war. She furnished many gallant men who wore the blue and many equally gallant men who wore the gray in that unfortunate contest.

Maryland's record in the Spanish war is fresh in our memories. The list of her sons who fought in that war is a long one, and I have not time to mention them all.

But one name stands out conspicuously—the name of whom all Marylanders are justly proud—Winfield Scott Schley.

This Academy, the *alma mater* of many distinguished naval officers, renowned in peace no less than in war, who have upheld the glory of our flag, was organized by a son of Maryland—the gallant Admiral Franklin Buchanan, its first superintendent.

The present head of this institution, Admiral Sands, under whose direction such excellent work is being done to-day, is of Maryland stock, and it is a pleasing coincidence that our able and accomplished Secretary of the Navy, who is presiding over these ceremonies, is also a native of our State.

Paul Jones, on the *Ranger*, flew the flag of our country on the high seas which was first saluted by a foreign power. He loved that flag, and often exclaimed: "The flag and I are twins, born the same hour and from the same womb of destiny."

A Marylander immortalized in verse that "Star-Spangled Banner." How fitting, then, that the ashes of Francis Scott Key and John Paul Jones should forever rest upon the soil of Maryland.

This is sacred ground upon which we stand. Here, on October 19, 1774, the first overt act against the authority of the King of England took place.

Anthony Stewart had, in violation of the nonimportation act, brought into this harbor a cargo of tea in his brig *Peggy Stewart.*

This open defiance of the colonists aroused their indignation and stirred their spirit of vengeance.

Stewart, realizing his peril, abjectly apologized for his act and offered to destroy the tea. This did not satisfy the aroused patriots and Sons of Liberty.

Down from the back hills and up from the lowlands of Maryland the young patriots, led by men of bold and determined spirit and bearing

aloft a banner upon which was inscribed "Liberty, or death in pursuit of it," rode to Annapolis.

Assembling in front of yonder old brick house, their leader, addressing Stewart, said: "You must burn your ship and its cargo of tea or hang."

Stewart chose not to hang, and forthwith, accompanied by the chief of the band of patriots, boarded his brig and applied the torch; and she, with her cargo, was burned to the water's edge.

For this act these young Sons of Liberty were called by the loyalists "Mohocks." For capturing the *Drake* and the *Serapis* John Paul Jones was characterized by the British a pirate and freebooter.

The tea burning at Boston is renowned as an act of unexampled daring at that day in the defense of American liberty; but this tea burning at Annapolis far surpassed it in utter carelessness of concealment.

It was an instance of the most open and determined opposition to the oppressive measures of the British Government.

This ancient city has always been animated by a spirit of patriotism.

In that old statehouse the colonists met in July, 1775, a year before the Declaration of Independence, resolved to throw off the British yoke, and for that purpose formed the Association of Freemen of Maryland.

It was in the senate chamber in that venerable building that George Washington, on the 23d day of December, 1783, handed back to Congress his commission to command the Revolutionary forces.

In that same chamber, on January 14, 1784, the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the colonies was ratified by the Continental Congress.

In that same room, in September, 1786, there was held, at the suggestion of George Washington, a convention composed of representatives from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and Maryland.

Its deliberations resulted in the calling of a convention, out of which grew that sublime instrument, the charter of our liberties, the Constitution of the United States.

Where, then, Mr. President, could you have found a more appropriate spot for the final resting place for the body of John Paul Jones?

Here it will repose amid the associations and the memorials connected with the history of our Navy, an ever-present inspiration to the young men who are here trained for service upon the sea.

As illustrating the value of an example of fighting qualities, I am reminded of an incident told by Admiral Dewey when he laid the corner stone of the memorial chapel here.

He said that a friend had asked him what thoughts were uppermost in his mind as he entered Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, when he destroyed the Spanish fleet and won that glorious victory.

Replying, he said: "I was thinking of what Farragut would do if he were here."

The American nation owes you, General Porter, a debt of gratitude for the patriotic work you did in searching for these remains.

At your own expense, with unflagging determination and devotion, you undertook and carried through to success what was declared by many to be a hopeless quest.

Your achievement is a source of great pride to your compatriots of the patriotic societies of our country and has aroused anew their enthusiasm in carrying out the purposes of their respective organizations.

Especially is this true of the society of the Sons of the American Revolution, over which at one time you presided as president-general.

All Americans, and especially we of Maryland, will ever hold you an unselfish patriot—one who loves his country and her splendid traditions.

The people of the United States can never forget the aid that France rendered our patriot fathers when they were struggling for freedom from British rule. Her generous services made the independence of the colonies possible. So, sir, the gratitude of the American people to France will continue forever.

La Fayette occupies a place in our hearts second only to that of Washington, and a monument stands on our Capitol Hill to De Kalb, who fell while leading Maryland troops in the hard-fought battle of Camden.

The French troops under command of La Fayette and Rochambeau encamped here in 1781 on the way to Yorktown, and again in 1782 on their return after the surrender of Cornwallis.

Their presence here, in March, 1781, saved our city from sack and the capitol from destruction by the British fleet, then in the Chesapeake Bay.

So, Mr. Ambassador Jusserand, you can understand the pleasure I feel, as chief executive of Maryland, in extending to you and the officers and sailors of the fleet of your nation a heartfelt welcome to the shores of our old Commonwealth—a Commonwealth that has been associated so closely with your own country through the services of so many of your distinguished patriots and brave sailors and soldiers.

May the friendship founded on these services, and cemented by the blood of the two nations, last through all the years to come.

PRAYER OF CHAPLAIN CLARK
U. S. NAVY

Our Heavenly Father: We thank Thee for the memory of the one whom we honor to-day; for the insight and bravery which he carried to the crowning act of his life, the act that so inspired and strengthened the hearts of the people in their great struggle for nationality. We thank Thee for the sympathy and the material support so freely given him by the great nation beyond the sea. And now may there come to our whole people a quickened perception of how great a thing it is to be citizens of this land; to be possessors of such a material inheritance; to have national ideals that may be pursued with utmost Christian earnestness, perseverance, and devotion. And may all have an ever-deepening sense of dependence upon Thee for the gifts that are our distinction and joy as a nation. And Thy name shall have the glory. Amen.

II. PAPERS AND REPORTS

DISCOVERY, IDENTIFICATION, AND TRANSFER OF REMAINS OF JOHN PAUL JONES

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

For a number of years efforts have been made to confirm the historical statement that the remains of Admiral John Paul Jones were interred in a certain piece of ground in the city of Paris then owned by the Government and used at the time as a burial place for foreign Protestants. These efforts have at last resulted in documentary proof that John Paul Jones was buried on July 20, 1792, between 8 and 9 o'clock p. m., in the now abandoned cemetery of St. Louis, in the northeastern section of Paris. About 500 bodies were interred there, and the body of the admiral was probably among the last hundred buried. It was incased in a leaden coffin, calculated to withstand the ravages of time.

The cemetery was about 130 feet long by 120 feet wide. Since its disuse as a burial place the soil has been filled to a level and covered almost completely by buildings, most of them of an inferior class.

The American ambassador in Paris, being satisfied that it is practicable to discover and identify the remains of John Paul Jones, has, after prolonged negotiations with the present holders of the property and the tenants thereof, secured from them options in writing which give him the right to dig in all parts of the property during a period of three months for the purpose of making the necessary excavations and searches, upon condition of a stated compensation for the damage and annoyance caused by the work. The actual search is to be conducted by the chief engineer of the municipal department of Paris having charge of subterranean works at a cost which has been carefully estimated. The ambassador gives the entire cost of the work, including the options, compensation, cost of excavating, and caring for the remains, as not exceeding 180,000 francs, or $35,000, on the supposition that

the body may not be found until the whole area has been searched. If earlier discovered, the expense would be proportionately less.

The great interest which our people feel in the story of Paul Jones's life, the national sense of gratitude for the great service done by him toward the achievement of independence, and the sentiment of mingled distress and regret felt because the body of one of our greatest heroes lies forgotten and unmarked in foreign soil, lead me to approve the ambassador's suggestion that Congress should take advantage of this unexpected opportunity to do proper honor to the memory of Paul Jones, and appropriate the sum of $35,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purposes above described, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of State.

The report of Ambassador Porter, with the plans and photograph of the property, is annexed hereto.

In addition to the foregoing recommendation, I urge that Congress emphasize the value set by our people upon the achievements of the naval commanders in our war of independence by providing for the erection of appropriate monuments to the memory of two, at least, of those who now lie in undistinguished graves—John Paul Jones and John Barry. These two men hold unique positions in the history of the birth of our Navy. Their services were of the highest moment to the young Republic in the days when it remained to be determined whether or not she should win out in her struggle for independence. It is eminently fitting that these services should now be commemorated in suitable manner.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 13, 1905.*

AMBASSADOR PORTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Telegram.]

PARIS, *April 14, 1905.*

My six years' search for remains of Paul Jones has resulted in success. Having explored the old St. Louis cemetery, where Admiral was buried in leaden coffin, and where I had verified the facts that all the dead remained entirely undisturbed, I found only four coffins of lead. The first three bore plates giving names and dates of burial, the fourth was in solidity of construction and workmanship much superior to the others. Like them was similar in shape to mummy coffins, widening from feet to shoulders with small round top to fit head, like all coffins of that period. No plate could be found; one may have been put on outer wooden coffin, few vestiges of which are left. Another corpse had been buried immediately on top. Appearances indicate that in digging that grave wooden coffin had been partly stripped off. Plate

may then have been carried away. On opening coffin body fortunately found quite well preserved, coffin having been filled with alcohol, but which had evaporated, and body carefully packed in straw. As I predicted in a former report, coffin contained neither uniform, sword, nor decorations. It was discovered in one of the spots where I expected to find it. I took it to the School of Medicine, where Doctors Capitan and Papillault, the distinguished professors of the School of Anthropology, well known for their large experience in such matters, were charged with removing the body from the coffin and making minute examination for purposes of identification. They were furnished with medallions, portraits, Houdon's two busts, authentic measurements, description of color of hair, and all the mass of information which had been collected regarding Paul Jones's appearance. The following facts were fully substantiated: Length of body, 5 feet 7 inches, Paul Jones's exact height; head in size and shape identical with head of Paul Jones, hair on head and body dark brown, same as that of Paul Jones, in places slightly gray, indicating person of his age, 45 years; high forehead, hair long, combed back, reaching below his shoulders gathered in a clasp at back of neck, curled in two rolls on temples; face clean shaven, corresponding exactly with descriptions, portraits, and busts of the Admiral. Buried in shirt and wrapped in sheet; linen in good condition, bearing a small initial worked with thread, either a "J" or, if read upside down, a "P." Coffin very solid. Body carefully preserved and packed. Limbs wrapped with tin foil, evidently for purpose of sea transportation a long distance, as indicated in an authentic letter of his particular friend and pallbearer, Colonel Blackden, which says: "His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th that in case the United States, which he had so essentially served and with so much honor, should claim his remains they might be more easily removed." Autopsy showed distinct proofs of disease of which Admiral is known to have died. Identification complete in every particular. Detailed reports of all facts duly certified by participants and witnesses will go by mail. Will have remains put in suitable casket and deposited in receiving vault of American Church till decision reached as to most appropriate means of transportation to America.

PORTER.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR PORTER

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 15, 1905.

The Department has great pleasure in sending cordial congratulations upon your success in finding body of Paul Jones.

LOOMIS.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR PORTER

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 17, 1905.

The Government will send a naval squadron to bring back the remains of Jones. Some time in June is suggested as convenient period.

LOOMIS.

AMBASSADOR PORTER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Telegram.]

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Paris, April 20, 1905.

Thanks for congratulations. Any time month of June would be good season for arrival of fleet. Deposited remains to-day in vault American church incased in original coffin, a leaden casket and oak coffin covered with American flag.

PORTER.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO GENERAL PORTER

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 20, 1905.

Obtain permission to land military force under arms from Rear-Admiral Sigsbee's squadron as escort for body Paul Jones.

HAY.

LETTER FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO GENERAL PORTER

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 27, 1905.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 2d instant, transmitting a memorandum of the exact method pursued in recoffining the body of John Paul Jones for transporation to the United States.

I have caused a copy of your communication to be sent to the Navy Department for the completion of its files in connection with the subject.

As this memorandum completes your most interesting and valuable report, I beg leave to tender the Department's hearty congratulations

on the successful termination of your patriotic and zealous efforts, which have brought about an occurrence of not only historic but of scientific importance.

I am, etc.,

HERBERT H. D. PEIRCE.

THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR McCORMICK

[Telegram.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 30, 1905.

General Porter has been appointed by the President special ambassador, and from his late position will be considered as the senior of the two special ambassadors to arrange on behalf of the United States for the reception of the body of Paul Jones. In the actual delivery of the body General Porter, as special ambassador, will deliver it to Special Ambassador Loomis. This * * * is designed by this Government to recognize General Porter's great services, and at the same time to show the keen interest of the Government by having sent over a special ambassador to assist at the function.

PEIRCE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE THREE FOLLOWING ILLUSTRATIONS

THE LIFE SIZE HOUDON BUST OF PAUL JONES—VIEWED FROM THE SAME ANGLE AS THE HEAD ON THE SECOND FOLLOWING PAGE AND REPRODUCED ON THE SAME SCALE

[From plaster cast in the Trocadero, Paris.]

In the comparison attention should be paid especially to the contour of the brow; the arch of the eyebrows; the width between the eyes; the high cheek bones; the muscles of the face; and the distances between the hair and the root of the nose, between the subnasal point and the lips, and between the lips and the point of the chin. The peculiar shape of the lobe of the ear in the bust is the exact counterpart of that observed in the body, but is lost in shadow in the photograph on the second following page.—H. P.

THE HEAD OF THE RECOVERED BODY OF JOHN PAUL JONES

This photograph, taken after the examination of Paul Jones's body for identification, is interesting as showing the well-preserved condition of the flesh. The cartilaginous portion of the nose had been bent over to the right, pressed down, and entirely distorted. This disfigurement was clearly due to the fact that when the body was put in the coffin an excess of the hay-and-straw packing had been placed under the head and the mass of long hair had been gathered into the linen cap at the back. This raised the face so high that the coffin lid pressed upon it. This pressure had been so great that the head itself was found turned a little to the right. The angle at which the photograph was taken causes the disfigured nose to look as if it were Roman in shape, the end being bent over and depressed, giving the bridge an unnatural prominence. The bony part of the nose is pronounced by the scientists as entirely compatible with the undulating outline seen on the authentic busts. The other features conform strictly to those of the busts, as proved by the anthropometric measurements. The general expression of the face is not as good as if it had been taken immediately after opening the coffin. The skin has shrunk and the lips have contracted by exposure to the air, showing the edges of the teeth, which were not visible at first. The hair, which was found neatly dressed, is in disorder, and could not be rearranged, as an attempt to comb it revealed a danger of pulling it out. The oblique lines on the face were made by creases in the winding sheet, and the right shoulder bears marks caused by the force used in packing the body firmly with hay and straw.—H. P.

THE COMPOSITE PRINT OF THE BUST AND FACE OF JOHN PAUL JONES

This composite print in a light-colored ink shows the agreement of the two following prints of the plaster bust and the human head.

HOUDON BUST OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

From plaster cast in the Trocadero Museum, Paris.

THE HEAD OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

COMPOSITE OF THE TWO PRECEDING PRINTS, SHOWING THE REMARKABLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PLASTER BUST AND THE HUMAN HEAD.

REPORT OF GENERAL PORTER

UPON assuming charge of our embassy in Paris and finding myself among the old landmarks, which are still honored there as recalling the many historic incidents in the sojourn of Paul Jones in that brilliant capital, I felt a deep sense of humiliation as an American citizen in realizing that our first and most fascinating naval hero had been lying for more than a century in an unknown and forgotten grave, and that no serious attempt had ever been made to recover his remains and give them appropriate sepulture in the land upon whose history he had shed so much luster.

Knowing that he had been buried in Paris, I resolved to undertake personally a systematic and exhaustive search for the body.

The investigation began in June, 1899. The first step was to study all the writings obtainable relating to him, including official documents. The certificate of his burial had been registered, but the register had been placed with other archives of the city of Paris in an annex of the Hôtel de Ville, situated on Victoria avenue, and had been destroyed with other important records when the Government buildings were burned by the Commune in May, 1871. Fortunately, in 1859, Mr. Charles Read, an archæologist, investigator, and writer of note, had made a transcript of the register in which this certificate was recorded, and I finally succeeded in securing a correct copy. The following is an English translation of this interesting document:

To-day, July 20, 1792, year IV of Liberty, at 8 o'clock in the evening, conformably to the decree of the National Assembly of yesterday, in presence of the delegation of the said assembly, composed of Messrs. Brun, president of the delegation of the said assembly; Bravet, Cambon, Rouyer, Brival, Deydier; Gay Vernon, bishop of the Department of Haute-Vienne; Chabot, Episcopal vicar of the Department of Loir-et-Cher; Carlier, Petit, Le Josnes, Robouame; and of a deputation of the consistory of the Protestants of Paris, composed of Messrs. Marron the pastor, Perreaux, Benard, Marquis Mouquin, and Empaytaz, anciens, was buried in the cemetery for foreign Protestants, Jean Paul Jones, native of England and citizen of the United States of America, senior naval officer in the service of the said States, aged 45 years, died the 18th of this month at his residence situated at No. 42 Rue de Tournon, from dropsy of the chest, in the faith of the Protestant religion. The said burial was made in our presence by Pierre François Simonneau, commissary of the King for this section and commissary of police for the Ponceau section, in presence of M. Samuel Blackden, colonel of dragoons in the service of the State of North Carolina and a citizen of the United States of America; J. C. Mountflorence, formerly major in the service of the United States; Marie Jean Baptiste Benoist Beaupoil, formerly a French officer, residing in Paris at No. 7 Passage des Petits Pères; and of Louis

Nicolas Villeminot, the officer commanding the detachment of the grenadiers of the gendarmerie which escorted the delegation of the assembly; and others who have signed with us.

Brun; Gay Vernon, bishop and deputy; Deydier, deputy from the department of Ain; Rouyer; Benard; François Chabot; J. C. Mountflorence; Petit; Cambon fils aîné; Bravet; Beaupoil; P. H. Carlier; Durvosque; Lafontaine; Simonneau; Jacques Brival; Villeminot; Robouame; deputy; Marron; Perreaux; Mouquin; Empaytaz; R. Ghiselin, of Maryland; S. Blackden; Griffith, of Philadelphia.

Historians had differed as to the date of the death; the above-quoted certificate of burial fixes it definitely on July 18, 1792.

The best description of Paul Jones's last moments is given in a letter received a month after the funeral by his elder sister, Mrs. Jenny Taylor (sometimes spelled in the official documents Jeanne, Janet, and Janette), in Scotland, written by his intimate friend, a witness of his will and a pallbearer at his funeral, Col. Samuel Blackden, a planter from North Carolina, who had served with distinction in the American Revolution, and was in Paris on business at the time of Paul Jones's last illness and death. The following is an extract from his letter:

But for two months past he began to lose his appetite, grew yellow, and showed symptoms of jaundice. For this he took medical treatment and for a short time seemed to grow better. A few days before his death his legs began to swell, which proceeded upward to his body, so that for two days before his decease he could not button his waistcoat and had great difficulty in breathing.

I visited him every day, and, beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs; but he would not take that view of it, and put off the making of his will until the afternoon of July 18, when he was prevailed upon to send for a notary and made his will. M. Beaupoil and myself witnessed it and left him sitting in a chair in his parlor. A few minutes after we retired he walked into his chamber and laid himself upon his face on the bedside, with his feet on the floor. The Queen's physician, who was attending him, came soon after, and on entering the apartment found him in that position, and on trying to lift him up found that he had expired. His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the heart. His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th, that, in case the United States, which he had so essentially served and with so much honor, should claim his remains they might be more easily removed.

M. Beaupoil, whom he mentioned, was a major in the French army and an aid-de-camp to La Fayette, with whom he had served in the American Revolution.

I had been misled for some time by having been furnished with an alleged copy of the certificate of burial published in the "Bulletin of the Society of the History of Protestantism," in which there had been omitted after the word "anciens," doubtless through an error of the copyist, the following all-important phrase: "Was buried in the cemetery for foreign Protestants." Besides this, eight words of minor significance had been omitted. The fact that the French construction was defective without some additional words led to another search, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale was at last found a magazine called the

"Correspondance Littéraire," containing an article by Charles Read, giving the correct copy of the certificate of burial, which he had made from the register referred to and of which the above is a translation. The article expressed the conviction of Mr. Read that the cemetery for foreign Protestants was the long-since abandoned and almost forgotten cemetery of Saint Louis, situated upon a street formerly called L'Hôpital Saint Louis, at present Grange-aux-Belles.

As some writers had expressed, however vaguely, different opinions, I instituted a long and exhaustive search to verify the grounds upon which Mr. Read had based his belief.

Public records were found showing that in 1720 the Government, at the instigation of Holland, had set aside a lot for the burial of foreign Protestants near the Porte Saint Martin, called the "Saint Martin Cemetery," but which was closed in 1762. The Saint Louis Cemetery for foreign Protestants was opened about that time and officially closed in January, 1793, six months after Paul Jones's decease, although some interments were made thereafter.

The custodian in charge of each of these cemeteries was named "Corroy," and it was ascertained from certain old documents discovered that the position had descended from father to son, which was evidence tending to show that the Saint Louis was the immediate successor of the Porte Saint Martin Cemetery. A copy was afterwards found of a decree regarding the burial of foreign Protestants, issued May 26, 1781, officially confirming this fact, and approved by De Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs under Louis XVI. From this decree have been taken the following extracts:

By an order of council of June 20, 1720, it was decreed that there should be designated a place for the burial of the bodies of foreign Protestants. The ground which was chosen was situated near the Porte Saint Martin. * * *

In the year 1762 the cemetery was transferred behind the Saint Louis Hospital.

This description clearly designated the Saint Louis Cemetery. To endeavor to obtain some authentic information as to whether there were any other cemeteries for foreign Protestants in existence at the time, and whether any further corroborative evidence could be found regarding the burial place of the Admiral, an examination requiring several months was made of all the journals and periodicals obtainable of about the date of the funeral, which took place July 20, 1792. Access was had to more than a hundred publications, which were found in the possession of libraries, societies, and individuals.

The *Moniteur*, Tome XIII, page 192, published a report of the proceedings of the National Assembly, session of July 19, 1792, the day after Paul Jones's death, which contained the following statement:

A letter was read from Colonel Blackden, a friend of Commodore Paul Jones, which announced that his friend having died in Paris, application was made to

M. Simonneau, commissary of the section, to have him buried without charge in accordance with a formality still existing in regard to Protestants. M. Simonneau was indignant and replied that if the expenses were not provided he would pay them himself. [Applause.]

The "formality" mentioned referred to a decree by which M. Simonneau, who was also "commissary of the King," was charged with the burial of all foreign Protestants. The letter of Colonel Blackden was published in the Boston Journal of that year, and is as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I announce to you that Admiral Paul Jones died last evening in Paris; that the American minister has ordered the person at whose house the Admiral lodged to cause him to be interred in the most private manner and at the least possible expense!!! This person, on account of the formalities still existing relative to Protestants, found it necessary to apply to a commissary. He has done it, and M. Simonneau, the commissary, expresses his astonishment at the order given by the minister, and says that a man who has rendered such signal services to France and America ought to have a public burial. He adds that if America will not pay the expense he will pay it himself. The friends of the Admiral wait the orders of the Assembly respecting the mode of interment.

S. BLACKDEN,
Late Colonel in the Service of the United States.

In order to ascertain, if possible, whether M. Simonneau had actually paid the funeral expenses out of his own means, or whether some other provision had been made, I instituted a search in the various departments of the Government in the hope of finding some record of the action taken. Fortunately a letter was finally found in the national archives written by the then minister of justice, M. Déjoly, dated July 22, 1792, two days after the funeral, from which the following is an extract:

TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: M. Simonneau has furnished the cost of the interment of Admiral Paul Jones, of which the bill amounts to 462 francs. This is an homage which he has rendered to the remains of this celebrated man, and this act of good citizenship is worthy of M. Simonneau, brother of the mayor of Étampes, who died in executing the law.

This brought to light for the first time the mortifying fact that the hero who had once been the idol of the American people had been buried by charity, and that the payment of his funeral expenses was the timely and generous act of a foreign admirer.

I made a search to see whether any needy lineal descendants of M. Pierre François Simonneau, the generous commissary, could be found, with view to paying to them the amount, with interest, expended by their worthy ancestor, as a tardy recognition of his noble act. Six persons of that name were discovered and communicated with, but no proof could be obtained that anyone of them was a descendant.

Our minister to France at that time, Gouverneur Morris, who was on terms of close intimacy with Paul Jones and who superintended the drawing up of the schedule of his property the afternoon before his

death, says in a letter dated April 19, 1793, published in his "Diary and Letters," Volume II, page 46, and addressed to Robert Morris:

> Before I quit Paul Jones I must tell you that some people here who like rare shows wished him to have a pompous funeral, and I was applied to on the subject; but as I had no right to spend money on such follies, either the money of his heirs or that of the United States, I desired that he might be buried in a private and economical manner. I have since had reason to be glad that I did not agree to waste money, of which he had no great abundance and for which his relatives entertained a tender regard.

The impression as to the Admiral's having no great abundance of means proved later to be erroneous. When his effects were sold, stocks converted into cash, and arrears of pay collected, the sum procured amounted to about $30,000, and much more was realized afterwards, which went to his heirs. And yet there seemed to be no ready money available at his death to provide for his funeral.

After finding the living successor to the notary who made the settlement of the estate and who was in possession of all the original papers in French, I had the detailed account examined, and ascertained that M. Simonneau had not been reimbursed for the money he expended. The inventory found among these papers and made after Paul Jones's death enumerates among the articles left by him 7 uniforms, 12 decorations, and 4 swords. It was natural to suppose that this large number included all such articles as he possessed, and as in those days they were regarded as valuable relics to be bequeathed to heirs, and as it was not customary to clothe the dead but to bury them in winding sheets, it seemed quite probable that no uniform, sword, or decoration would be found in the Admiral's coffin. Buell said of Paul Jones (page 366, Vol. II, first ed.): "He was buried in a shroud, without uniform or trappings of any kind." In the settlement of the estate all the above-named articles were sold except the sword presented to him by Louis XVI in recognition of his heroic achievement in capturing the *Serapis*. This the Admiral disposed of orally just before his death, bequeathing it to Richard Dale, his first lieutenant when he captured the *Serapis*, saying: "My good old Dick is better entitled to it than anyone else, because he did more than any other to help me win it."

M. Simonneau, having taken so much interest in Paul Jones and being in sole charge of the burial of foreign Protestants in Paris, would have naturally interred him in the officially designated and most prominent burial ground devoted to that purpose, if there were more than one in existence. The Saint Louis Cemetery was well known and officially designated, and as no mention could be found of any other in Paris for foreign Protestants at the time, the natural inference was that the burial had taken place there.

M. Hop, ambassador of Holland to France, had succeeded in securing the cemetery granted by decree in 1720, which was opened in 1724 for

foreign Protestants, and in that cemetery, as well as in its successors, all the burials of such persons could be made only upon certificates issued by the Dutch embassy.

With a view to ascertaining some information from that source, a search was made, at my request, of the records of the Dutch legation in Paris and in the foreign office at The Hague, but it was found that while some useful information was obtained, no copies of such certificates had been preserved.

The person who delivered Paul Jones's funeral oration was M. Paul Henri Marron, who had come from Holland and was pastor of a Protestant house of worship in Paris called the "Church of Saint Louis." The following is a copy of his rather florid address:

> Legislators! Citizens! Soldiers! Friends! Brethren! and Frenchmen! We have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of American liberty—of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the North had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism; he preferred the sweets of a private life in France, now free, to the éclat of titles and of honors which, from an usurped throne, were lavished upon him by Catherine. The fame of the brave outlives him, his portion is immortality. What more flattering homage could we pay to the remains of Paul Jones than to swear on his tomb to live and die free? It is the vow, it is the watchword of every Frenchman—let never tyrants nor their satellites pollute this sacred earth! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, and eager to be free, enjoy here an undisturbed repose! Let his example teach posterity the efforts which noble souls are capable of making when stimulated by hatred of oppression. Friends and brethren, a noble emulation brightens in your looks; your time is precious—the country is in danger! Who among us would not shed the last drop of his blood to save it? Associate yourselves with the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating him in his contempt of danger, in his devotedness to his country, in his noble patriotism, which, after having astonished the present age, will continue to be the imperishable object of the veneration of future generations!

It is not a little singular that, notwithstanding the radical sentiments expressed by this pastor, he was several times arrested by the revolutionists and was once or twice in great peril of his life.

I found the book containing the minutes of the meetings of the consistory of M. Marron's church, but just at the date of Paul Jones's death four pages had been torn out. This was one of the many disappointments encountered during the researches. I then set to work upon the task of trying to trace the lost leaves. The name of a M. Coquerel, a former pastor of the church, was mentioned in a publication as an enthusiastic collector of papers relating to Protestantism in Paris. My search in junk shops and antiquarian stores revealed the fact that M. Coquerel's heirs had sold some old papers which had afterwards been purchased by the Society of the History of Protestantism, and in its library were finally found the four lost pages.

I now ascertained positively that M. Marron buried his parishioners in the Saint Louis Cemetery, and the fact that he had delivered the

SCENE OF THE SEARCH FOR THE BODY OF JOHN PAUL JONES, IN THE RUE GRANGE-AUX-BELLES.

From left to right are seen the grocery shop, behind which, in the yard to the left, was shaft E, near which the coffin of John Paul Jones was discovered; shaft C in the street; shaft B in the street; and on the right the apartment house at the corner of the Rue des Ecluses Saint-Martin. Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph.

funeral oration of Paul Jones would be an indication that he had also buried him there.

While all the proofs thus far distinctly designated this cemetery as the Admiral's place of burial, still it was deemed prudent to investigate the source of various rumors to the contrary, however improbable. The elder Dumas in his romance of "The Pioneer" represents Paul Jones as having been buried in Père Lachaise. Notwithstanding the fact that this celebrated cemetery had not been opened till thirteen years after the Admiral was buried, yet to be sure that his body had not been transferred there in later years, a thorough examination was made of the registers in which the records of burials have been carefully kept. The only male persons found upon the registers bearing the family name of Jones were George Jones, but spelled "Joncs" on the gravestone, died in 1820; John Quereau Jones, in 1822; James Jones, in 1827; Charles Jones, in 1829; Edouard Thomas Jones, in 1833. It was therefore certain that the Admiral's remains were not in Père Lachaise.

There was another fanciful story that he had been interred in Picpus Cemetery, where La Fayette was buried; but as Paul Jones, as recorded in his certificate of burial, was of the Protestant faith, his interment in any cemetery of the established church would have been prohibited. Still, a search was made and it disproved the rumor.

A letter came to me from a person who had lived in Scotland when a child, many years ago, saying Paul Jones had been buried in Kirkbean churchyard, near Dumfries, Scotland: that his tomb was there with his name inscribed on it, etc. I referred the letter to the rector of the church, the Rev. D. W. MacKenzie, who replied that it was the tomb of Paul Jones's father, saying:

> The inscription on it is as follows: "In memory of John Paul, senior, who died at Arbigland, the 24th of October, 1767, universally esteemed." At the bottom of the tomb appears the inscription: "Erected by John Paul, junior." John Paul, of course, is the original name of John Paul Jones, the Admiral. I take great interest in the history of the Admiral, and local traditions or printed documents suggest nothing at variance with the accepted opinion that he died in Paris and was buried in the Protestant cemetery there.

After further researches in every possible quarter that could furnish information on the subject, the fact was clearly and incontestably established that the Saint Louis Cemetery was the only burial ground in Paris for foreign Protestants at the time of Paul Jones's death; that he was not interred in any other cemetery; and that Charles Read was perfectly correct in his opinion that the Admiral had positively been buried in the cemetery of Saint Louis. It should be remembered, also, that the act of burial says, "*The* cemetery for foreign Protestants," language indicating that there was only one in existence devoted to that purpose.

All doubt having been removed as to the place of burial, the next step was to make a personal inspection of the ground beneath which

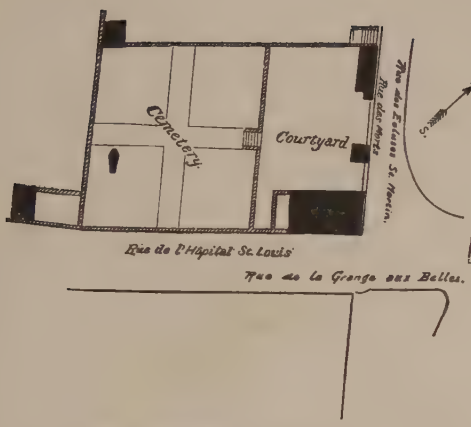
the long-since abandoned cemetery was located, and to endeavor to ascertain its history and its condition at the time of Paul Jones's death.

It is situated in an uninviting section of the northeastern quarter of Paris, at the corner of two streets now known as "Rue Grange-aux-Belles" and "Rue des Écluses Saint Martin," and covered with buildings, principally of an inferior class. The property at the time of the Admiral's burial belonged to the Government, and was sold to M. Phalipeaux, a building contractor, in 1796. This quarter of the city was known as "le Combat," and the present station of the underground railroad, close to the property, is called "Combat." This name was not chosen, however, on account of the burial there of the most combative of men, but history attributes the term to the fact that this section of Paris was long ago the scene of all the fights in which animals figured—bulls, cocks, dogs, asses, etc.

A street which leads directly to the property and ends there is named Vicq d'Azyr, after Marie Antoinette's physician, a friend of Paul Jones, who attended him and who accompanied Gouverneur Morris on his visit to the Admiral's house when he lay on his deathbed the evening of July 18, 1792. When a person's name is given to a street in Paris, it is generally in a quarter connected with events in his career. It is possible that the distinguished physician's name was given to the street because of its leading to the place which held the remains of his illustrious friend and patient.

Two old maps of the property were finally discovered, one made by M. Jaillot in 1773 and one by M. Verniquet in 1794, showing that the ground consisted of a courtyard with a frontage of about 130 feet upon Rue des Écluses Saint Martin, with an entrance on that street, and a depth of about 90 feet along Rue Grange-aux-Belles. There was a garden in the rear with a frontage of 120 feet on Rue Grange-aux Belles and a depth of 130 feet. The surface of the garden was about 8 feet lower than that of the courtyard, the descent to which was made by a flight of steps. Thirty years later the grade of the street had been changed and the garden had been leveled up even with the courtyard, and the fact seemed to have been lost sight of that there had ever been a cemetery beneath. There were two cross-walks dividing the garden into four squares. The whole property was surrounded by a wall between 6 and 9 feet high. There was a house in the courtyard and a shed, but no buildings in the garden.

By a decree of the Government the garden was devoted exclusively to the burial of foreign Protestants. On the 30th of September, 1777, a decree was issued permitting native Protestants to be buried thereafter in the courtyard. This cemetery, as hereinbefore mentioned, was legally closed in January, 1793, but the former custodian, who had become the lessee, and the subsequent owners, who had purchased the

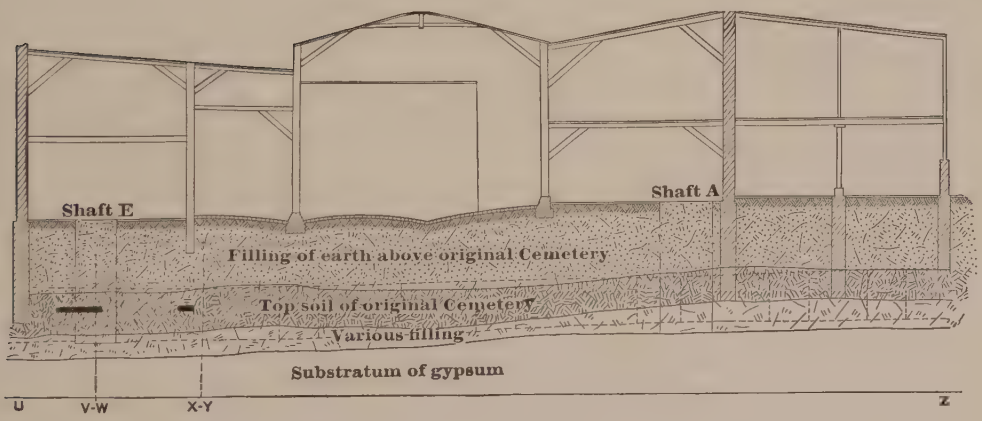


PLAN OF THE CEMETERY OF SAINT LOUIS IN 1792.

The oblong mark shows the position of the coffin of Paul Jones relative to the cross walk.

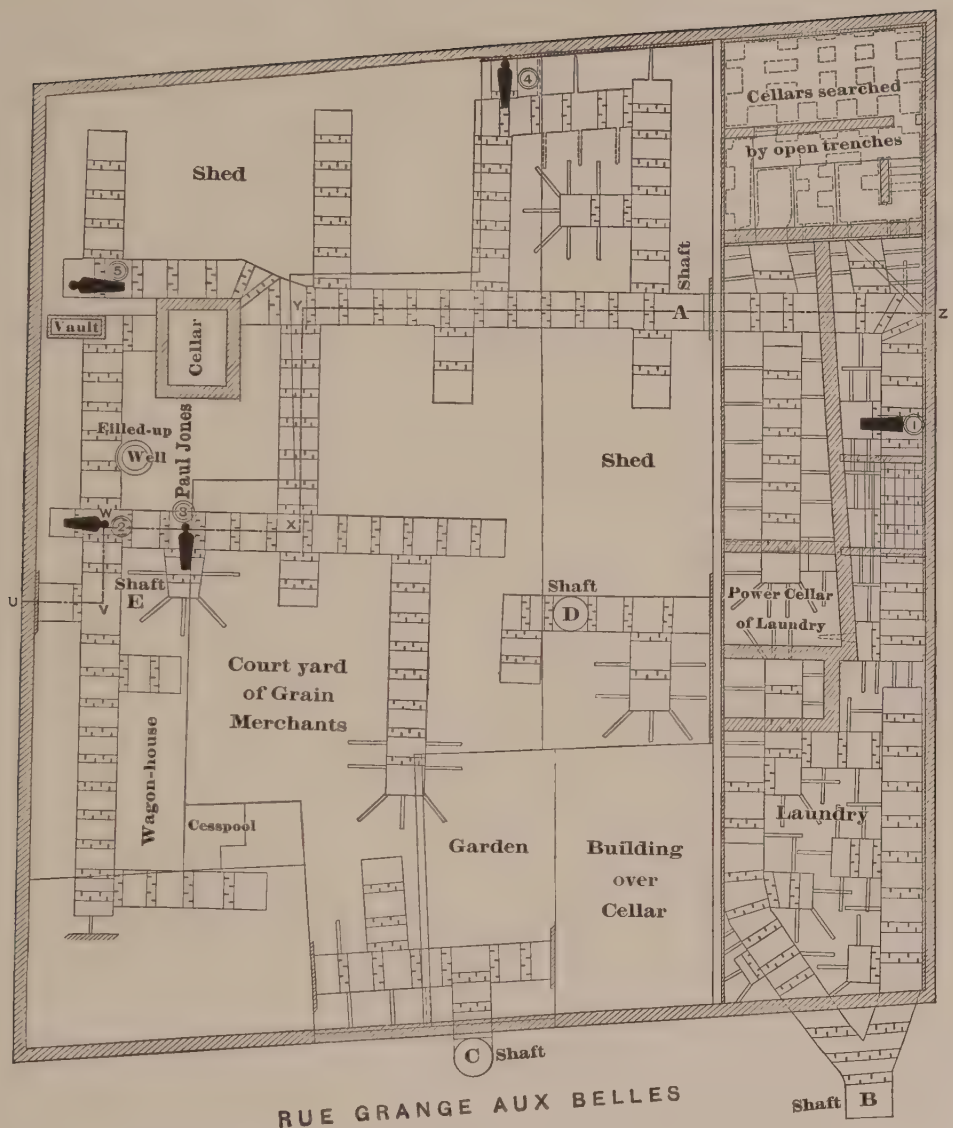
PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS COVERING THE CEMETERY OF SAINT LOUIS IN 1905.

The space from A to B is the street front of the abandoned cemetery.



CROSS SECTION OF THE CEMETERY ON THE LINES INDICATED IN THE MAP ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE BY THE LETTERS U, V, W, X, Y, Z.

The short dark line at the left indicates the position of the coffin of John Paul Jones.



PLAN OF THE SHAFTS SUNK AND GALLERIES EXCAVATED IN THE SEARCH FOR THE BODY OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

The shafts are indicated by letters in the order in which they were sunk; the galleries excavated are indicated by cross timbering; the rays from the ends of some of the galleries denote soundings for leaden coffins with iron bars, but the soundings are not all indicated, since they were made from the ends and sides of all the galleries; all the leaden coffins are indicated by numerals in the order of finding them, the coffin of John Paul Jones being No. 3, but during the time occupied in the identification of the body 4 and 5 were discovered. The dimensions of the cemetery are approximately 120 by 130 feet.

property from the Government, were allowed to make some burials for eleven years thereafter.

I found in the tenth arrondissement (then the fifth), a copy of a letter written by the mayor, dated May 26, 1804, directing Citizen Richer to inspect the Protestant cemetery. After a long search I discovered in another quarter of the city his report, dated June 8 of that year. It was in much detail and was entirely in accordance with the maps heretofore mentioned in describing the Saint Louis Cemetery. Its accuracy was verified in every particular when this cemetery was afterwards explored.

The next question was whether the dead had ever been removed from this abandoned cemetery, as had been the case in some others. Satisfactory proof was readily obtained that such an act had not taken place before 1803 or after 1830. A search of the registers of the Catacombs, where all the dead that are removed from abandoned cemeteries are deposited, showed no record of any bodies having been received from the Saint Louis Cemetery between the above dates or at any other time, and there could be found no information in any of the public departments showing that any removal had ever been made from that burial ground except of the remains of Lady Alexander Grant, whose body had been exhumed for transportation to England by formal permission of the city authorities, duly recorded May 2, 1803. There was registered at the Catacombs the receipt of leaden coffins from other abandoned cemeteries, and the removal there of a hand stretcher load of human bones from No. 39 Rue Grange-aux-Belles, and another from No. 4 Rue des Écluses Saint Martin. These lots had once been used as a kind of potter's field. They were near to, but entirely outside of, the Saint Louis Cemetery.

Having established the impossibility of the leaden coffin having been removed by legitimate means, the only remaining doubt that could exist was based upon the suggestion that it might have been unearthed by the revolutionary armies to convert it into bullets. This unfounded surmise did not make much of an impression after a study of all the circumstances and talks with the "oldest inhabitants," by whom traditions of a former age are often handed down. The French have a profound respect for the dead and the sacredness of places of burial; the humblest citizen uncovers reverently when a funeral passes; graves are tenderly cared for and kept decked with flowers, and their desecration is a rare crime.

At the time of the Revolution there were statues and busts of lead in exposed places and extensive lead piping to carry the water from the Seine to Versailles, etc., none of which was disturbed. Moreover, the metal contained in the few leaden coffins to be found at that date in a Paris cemetery would not have repaid the digging or furnished bullets for a single battalion.

If the Admiral had been buried in a wooden coffin hardly a vestige of it would have been in existence and only the mere skeleton of the body would have been found. Fortunately, however, the authentic letter written to Mrs. Janet Taylor, Paul Jones's eldest sister, by Colonel Blackden, and hereinbefore quoted, contained the following valuable information:

> His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th, that in case the United States, which he had so essentially served and with so much honor, should claim his remains they might be more easily removed.

The bill of 462 francs paid by M. Simonneau for the funeral expenses was corroborative of this fact, inasmuch as the cost of an ordinary funeral in those days, as ascertained from the records, was 128 francs, while that of a hospital patient cost as little as 89 francs, distributed as follows: Coffin 10 francs, choristers 10, sexton 15, commissary 48, his clerk 6. The payment therefor of 462 francs, more than three times the value of that sum at the present day, would have provided for an unusually large expenditure, and would have amply covered the cost of a substantial leaden coffin, a thorough preparation of the body to insure its preservation, and an elaborate system of packing, with a view to its transportation by sea.

There had now been fully established by authentic documents and convincing corroborative evidence the fact that the Saint Louis Cemetery was the actual burial place of Paul Jones; that he had been buried in a leaden coffin; that the body had been prepared for transportation to the United States; that the coffin had never been removed by legitimate means, and that there was no probability that it had been carried away by stealth or had been stolen.

After having studied the manner and place of his burial and contemplated the circumstances connected with the strange neglect of his grave, one could not help feeling pained beyond expression and overcome by a sense of profound mortification. Here was presented the spectacle of a hero whose fame once covered two continents, and whose name is still an inspiration to a world-famed navy, lying for more than a century in a forgotten grave, like an obscure outcast, relegated to oblivion in a squalid quarter of a distant foreign city, buried in ground once consecrated, but since desecrated by having been used at times as a garden, with the moldering bodies of the dead fertilizing its market vegetables, by having been covered later by a common dump pile, where dogs and horses had been buried, and the soil was still soaked with polluted waters from undrained laundries, and, as a culmination of degradation, by having been occupied by a contractor for removing night soil.

It recalls the remark once made by a gallant naval officer: "When we give up our lives in the service of our country we do not ask that our graves be kept green, but should like to have them kept clean."

Having collected all the facts necessary to justify an immediate attempt to remove the remains from such offensive surroundings, and secure for them appropriate sepulture in America, I was about to open negotiations quietly with the proprietors and tenants who occupied the property with a view to purchasing the right to enter upon the premises and make the necessary excavations in order to explore thoroughly the cemetery, when unfortunately the news of this intention became publicly known through the indiscretion of persons who had been consulted on the subject. Self-constituted agents immediately began to busy themselves with circulating fantastic stories regarding the fabulous prices that were to be paid for the property, the whole of which it was said was going to be bought by a rich government, at any cost, as the only means of getting access to the cemetery and making the excavations necessary to find the body of its great admiral. Such representations naturally created intense excitement, raised false hopes in the minds of those interested in the property, and rendered negotiations on a practicable basis entirely impossible. This was altogether the most discouraging episode in the history of the undertaking.

There was then but one course to pursue, however reluctantly, which was to drop the matter entirely for a couple of years, in order to let the excitement subside.

At the end of that time negotiations were quietly opened upon the basis of purchasing the right to explore the abandoned cemetery by means of subterranean galleries, provided that all damages to houses should be repaired, any victims of disease caused by foul emanations from the disturbed soil indemnified, and the property afterwards restored to its former condition. After a series of prolonged and tedious negotiations, appeals to the public spirit of the occupants of the property, and an assurance that the United States Government had made no appropriation or taken any action in the matter, and that the work was simply an individual undertaking, I at last succeeded in procuring options in writing from all concerned granting the right for three months to enter upon the premises and make the necessary excavations.

President Roosevelt, upon learning of the undertaking, had asked for information regarding it, and upon receiving my reply, giving an account of the project, sent an urgent message to Congress in February, 1905, recommending an appropriation of $35,000, the estimated cost of carrying out the work. It was late in the short session, and no action was taken. It would not have been altogether unnatural, however, to regard the scheme as too Utopian in its nature to receive serious consideration, the remains of the Admiral having been long since relegated to the realms of mystery and given up as lost beyond recovery.

As no promise could be secured as to how long the options obtained would be allowed to hold good, and as it was quite certain that if they

lapsed they could never be renewed upon any such terms, if at all, on account of changes among the tenants, the adverse disposition of some of the occupants, the publicity which had now been given the matter, etc., I deemed it a duty to pay at once the sums demanded in advance to bind the options, and to proceed with the work.

The prefect of the Seine kindly permitted M. Paul Weiss of the service of the carrières (quarries) of the city of Paris to direct the work, which was begun on Friday, February 3, 1905. This experienced and accomplished mining engineer displayed a professional skill of the very highest order, and by his ability, zeal, and devotion to the work greatly facilitated the task. The project presented serious difficulties from the fact that the filling of earth above the cemetery was composed of the dumpings of loose soil not compact enough to stand alone, and the shafts and galleries had to be solidly lined and shored up with heavy timbers as the excavations proceeded. The drainage was bad in places and there was trouble from the water. The walls of one of the buildings were considerably damaged. Slime, mud, and mephitic odors were encountered, and long red worms appeared in abundance.

The first shaft was opened in one of the yards to a depth of 18 feet. It proved clearly that the dead had never been disturbed. This fact was most satisfactory as disproving the predictions so often made to the contrary. The skeletons were found lying about a foot apart, generally in two layers, one above the other, and in some places there were three. This was a verification of the report of Citizen Richer, hereinbefore mentioned, saying that the dead were buried in a fosse (trench), which indicated that they were not interred in separate graves and were of a poor class. This led to the conclusion that there would be very few leaden coffins found, as they could be afforded only by persons in easy circumstances. But few vestiges were left of the wooden coffins.

Two more large shafts were sunk in the yards and two in the Rue Grange-aux-Belles, making five in all. Day and night gangs of workmen were employed, and active progress was made. Galleries were pushed in every direction and "soundings" were made between them with long iron tools adapted to this purpose, so that no leaden coffin could possibly be missed.

The first of the four squares explored was the one on the right of the original entrance to the cemetery. Here the excavators encountered a mass of skeletons, in three layers, superposed. They were placed irregularly, some lying face down and others on their sides, in one layer piled lengthwise and in the one above crosswise, just as one would pile cord wood, the bodies being so close together that they could not have been buried in coffins. No explanation of the peculiar condition of things in this portion of the cemetery suggested itself until one day I came across a copy of a drawing by Béricourt representing the corpses of the Swiss

THE FIRST SHAFT.

Marked A on the plan, page 56. From photograph.

Guard killed in defending the Tuileries being hurriedly thrown into carts to be hauled away for burial. As it is known that most of them were Protestants, it is altogether likely that they were interred in the Saint Louis Cemetery in the confused manner indicated by the position of the skeletons found there. This slaughter occurred August 10, 1792, twenty-one days after Paul Jones's burial. If the above inference be correct, it furnishes another proof that although the cemetery was closed soon after his death there was plenty of room left for his coffin at the time of his burial, for the reason that so many bodies were interred there afterwards.

I had given orders that if not present when a leaden coffin was discovered I should be sent for at once, as I was desirous of superintending personally the search for an inscription plate and any other indications that might aid in the identification.

On February 22 the first leaden coffin was discovered. The round projecting end containing the head had been broken off and the skull was detached from the body. The remains of a water barrel were found near by. As the cemetery, after being closed, had been used as a market garden, the barrel had evidently been sunk in this spot to catch the water drained from the courtyard, and in excavating for it the head of the coffin had been knocked off. The outer wooden coffin had nearly disappeared, and the inscription plate it bore had fallen on the lid of the leaden coffin. This plate was of copper, and had become so brittle that when lifted it broke and a portion of it crumbled to pieces. It was so corroded and incrusted that no portion of the inscription could be read. Handling it with great care, I proceeded with it in person to Messrs. André & Son, the well-known decipherers and restorers of ancient enamels and art objects, who promised to apply all their skill to the task of reading it.

By the next day the Messrs. André had cleansed the coffin plate sufficiently to be able to read distinctly the following portion of the inscription:

"* * * M E Anglois, 20 de May 1790 Ans." The French word *Mai* was spelled in old style with a *y*. No further attention was therefore paid to this coffin, and the search, which had not been interrupted, continued.

On March 23 a second leaden coffin was discovered, with a plate easily read, bearing the words "Richard Hay, esq., died in Paris the 29th January, 1785."

On March 31 a third leaden coffin was unearthed. This, like the others, was of a shape resembling that of the mummy coffins, a form quite common then, gradually widening from the feet to the shoulders, with a round projection at the upper end, which contained the head. It was much superior in solidity and workmanship to the others. A

thorough search was made, but no inscription plate could be found. It was decided to open this coffin; but as the odors were almost insupportable in the unventilated gallery, the examination was postponed until a connection could be made with another gallery, so as to admit a current of air.

On April 7 the coffin was opened in presence of Col. Blanchard, M. Weiss, M. Géninet, superintendent of the work, the foreman, several workmen, and myself. The lid was so firmly soldered that it was removed with considerable difficulty. There was a strong alcoholic odor, but the alcohol in which the body had evidently been preserved had in great part evaporated, doubtless through a hole made in the lid by a pick, as hereinafter described, and a crack in the edge of the coffin near the foot caused by the pressure of the earth after the wooden coffin had rotted away. However, the earth which covered these holes was hard and black, having evidently become indurated by the action of the escaping alcohol, so that the process of evaporation had doubtless been exceedingly slow. The body was covered with a winding sheet and firmly packed with hay and straw. A rough measurement indicated the height of Paul Jones. Those engaged upon the work had been furnished some time before with copies of the Admiral's Congressional medal showing his bust in profile. I had found in the Paris mint the die from which this medal was made and had had a number of copies struck from it. Half a dozen candles were placed near the head of the coffin, and the winding sheet was removed from the head and chest, exposing the face. To our intense surprise, the body was marvelously well preserved, all the flesh remaining intact, very slightly shrunken, and of a grayish brown or tan color. The surface of the body and the linen were moist. The face presented quite a natural appearance, except that the cartilaginous portion of the nose had been bent over toward the right side, pressed down, and disfigured by its too close proximity to the lid of the coffin. Upon placing a medal near the face, comparing the other features and recognizing the peculiar characteristics—the broad forehead, contour of brow, appearance of the hair, high cheek bones, prominently arched eye orbits, and other points of resemblance—we instinctively exclaimed, "Paul Jones!" and all those who were gathered about the coffin removed their hats, feeling that they were standing in the presence of the illustrious dead—the object of the long search.

Two theories suggested themselves to account for the absence of an inscription plate. A corpse had been buried immediately on top of the leaden coffin, the middle of the lid of which had been pierced as if by a pick. Surrounding the leaden coffin were some vestiges of a coffin of wood. It may be that the digger of the upper grave, finding that his pick had struck a hard substance, had applied his shovel, and in removing

the decayed remains of the wooden coffin found a plate and carried it off as a relic, or, if of silver, for its intrinsic value. Or, as the death of Paul Jones occurred when the violence of the French Revolution was at its height and the streets were filled with idlers and excited crowds of workmen, it is likely that no engravers could be found at work to prepare a fitting inscription in the two days intervening between the death and burial. The latter theory seems rather more plausible.

For the purpose of submitting the body to a thorough scientific examination by competent experts for the purpose of complete identification, it was taken quietly at night, on April 8, to the Paris School of Medicine (École de Médecine) and placed in the hands of the well-known professors of anthropology, Doctor Capitan and Doctor Papillault and their associates, who had been highly recommended as the most accomplished scientists and most experienced experts that could be selected for a service of this kind. I of course knew these eminent professors by reputation, but I had never met them.

While the professional examinations for identifying the body were taking place, directions were given to let the workmen continue the excavations in order to explore the rest of the cemetery, as there was a small portion that had not yet been reached. On April 11 a fourth leaden coffin was found with a plate bearing the inscription: "Cygit Georges Maidison, Gentilhomme Anglais et Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté britannique auprés de Sa Majesté très Chrétienne—decedé à Paris le 27 Août 1783—agé de 36 ans."

On April 18 the fifth and last leaden coffin was discovered. It was without an inscription plate and of unusual length. Upon opening it there was found the skeleton of a man considerably over 6 feet in height.

In excavating the cemetery the exploration had corroborated the facts inferred from the hereinbefore-mentioned report indicating that the main body of the four squares divided by the cross walks had been reserved for burying the ordinary dead in common trenches, and that personages important enough to be placed in leaden coffins were buried in separate graves near the walls. The Admiral's coffin was found in one of such spots.

All the coffins except the one containing the remains of the Admiral were left undisturbed in the places where they had been discovered, and, the cemetery having been fully explored, the shafts and galleries were refilled and the property restored. There had been excavated 80 feet in length of shafts, 800 feet of galleries, and about 600 feet of soundings. The excavated earth had to be carted to a distance of 2 miles to find a dumping ground and afterwards hauled back. In refilling the galleries it was necessary in places to use stones and blocks of indurated clay to give proper stability.

There were discovered in all five leaden coffins in the cemetery. Four having been easily identified, reasoning upon the principle of elimination led to the conclusion that the other must be the coffin sought. However, the scientists were identifying the body by more positive means.

When the remains arrived at the School of Medicine the lid of the coffin, which had been replaced and the edges of which had been sealed with a coating of plaster, was again removed and the hay and straw surrounding the body were taken out. They were so firmly packed, evidently to prevent injury to the body from shocks caused by the rolling of the ship upon the contemplated transfer by sea, that in removing them pincers had to be used. It was noticed that there had been a hole three-quarters of an inch in diameter in the lid of the coffin just over the face, and that it had been closed by a screw and soldered over. It is supposed that the alcohol used to preserve the remains had been poured in through this aperture after the coffin had been closed. This immersion in alcohol was doubtless another reason why no uniform or object of value was placed in the coffin.

In order not to disturb the body or change in any way its position in removing it from the coffin a vertical cut was made in the lead at each end, which enabled the sides to be pressed apart. The body was then carefully placed upon a large dissecting table. Its state of preservation was such that it bore its own weight in handling it. The remains, with all the flesh intact, looked like the anatomical specimens preserved in jars of alcohol such as one sees in medical museums. It was learned that a century ago this method of preserving the dead was frequently employed—that the bodies of Necker and his wife, buried at Coppet, in Switzerland, for instance, were so treated and are still perfectly preserved.

The joints were somewhat flexible. In taking the right hand in mine I found that the knuckle joints could be easily bent.

The following is a list of the principal persons who participated in verifying the identification of the body: The American ambassador; Henry Vignaud, first secretary of the American embassy, commander of the Legion of Honor, and a distinguished writer; John K. Gowdy, American consul-general; Col. A. Bailly-Blanchard, second secretary of the American embassy, ex-aid-de-camp to the governor of Louisiana, officer of the Legion of Honor, officer of public instruction; M. Justin de Selves, prefect of the Seine, grand officer of the Legion of Honor; M. Louis Lepine, prefect of police, ex-governor-general of Algiers, grand officer of the Legion of Honor; Dr. J. Capitan, professor in the School of Anthropology, member of the committee of historic and scientific works (ministry of public instruction), member of the municipal commission of Old Paris, member of the Society of Megalithic Monu-

ments, member of a number of foreign scientific societies, ex-president of the Society of Anthropology of Paris, officer of public instruction, author of more than 250 monographs, memoirs, etc., on medical and other scientific subjects; Dr. Georges Papillault, assistant director of the laboratory of anthropology in the School for Advanced Studies, professor in the School of Anthropology, officer or member of several learned societies at home and abroad, and author of numerous scientific articles, a scientist of rare experience in the examination and identification of human bodies; Dr. George Hervé, professor in the School of Anthropology, ex-president of the Society of Anthropology of Paris, and author of many monographs and volumes on this subject; Dr. A. Javal, physician to the ministry of public instruction, laureate of the School of Medicine; M. J. Pray, chief architect of the prefecture of police, officer of public instruction; M. Paul Weiss, engineer of the quarries of the Seine, doctor of laws.

In addition to the above, the services were secured of Dr. V. Cornil, the eminent microscopist, professor of pathologic anatomy of the Paris School of Medicine.

The above scientists were not employed experts; they cheerfully gave their services gratuitously, purely in the interest of science and as an act of comity between two friendly nations in solving an important historical problem.

There now took place one of the most scientific, painstaking, and conscientious examinations conceivable for the purpose of verifying beyond all doubt the identification of the body submitted for this purpose.

The official and professional responsibility of those engaged in the task, their disinterestedness, and the fact that their established reputations were at stake gave abundant guarantee that the labor would be faithfully and impartially performed. Twelve American or French persons officially took part in or witnessed the work of identification, and their affirmative verdict, after six days passed in the application of every possible test, was positive and unanimous and was formally certified to under the official seals of their respective departments, as will be seen from their reports printed in the appendix.

The remains had been wrapped in a winding sheet of linen, the ends of which had been torn off, probably to make it fit the length of the body. On this was observed a small figure 2 worked in thread. Upon the removal of the sheet there was found upon the body but one garment, a linen shirt of very fine workmanship with plaits and ruffles, which corresponds with the Admiral's fondness for dress. "He is a master of the arts of dress and personal adornment, and it is a common remark * * * that he never fails to be the best dressed man at any dinner or fête he may honor by attending." ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI.") The long hair, measuring about thirty inches in

length, had been carefully dressed and gathered into a linen cap at the back of the head. On this was found a small initial worked in thread. When the cap was right side up, the letter was a "J," with the loop well rounded; when reversed, it formed a "P." A careful search disclosed no other article in the coffin. On the hands, feet, and legs were found portions of tin foil, as if they had been wrapped with it.

Two circumstances combined to render the identification of the remains comparatively easy—the remarkable state of preservation of the body due to the alcohol and the abundance of accurate information in existence descriptive of the dead.

To furnish the anthropologists with the required data there was obtained, upon personal application, permission to make all the desired measurements of the Houdon bust of Paul Jones, a little more than three-quarter size, owned by the Marquis de Biron, a very artistic work representing the Admiral in court dress with the hair curled in rolls upon the temples. These rolls were identical with those found on the body.

There was procured, through the courtesy of the director of the Trocadéro Museum, a copy of the other well-known bust of Paul Jones by Houdon, one of the most accurate works of the famous sculptor, who was also an admirer of his subject. It represents him in the uniform of an admiral, and was found more useful for the purpose of making the comparative measurements on account of its being life-size. James Madison, in a letter dated April 28, 1825, says: "His bust by Houdon is an exact likeness, portraying well the characteristic features." Sherburne, in his biography, says: "His bust by Houdon, of which several copies remain in this country, is believed to be the best representation of his features ever made."[a] Besides these there were submitted a copy of the medal given by Congress—showing a profile of the face—and a mass of authentic information regarding the Admiral's chief characteristics, appearance, size, color of hair, age, etc.

Doctor Papillault, with his delicate instruments, made all the necessary anthropometric measurements of the head, features, length of body, etc., and found them so entirely exact as to be convinced that the busts were made from the subject before him, and that the length of the body, 5 feet 7 inches, was the same as the height of the Admiral. All of the comparative measurements are set forth in detail in his report, the

[a] Mr. Frank D. Millet made several casts from the Houdon bust of John Paul Jones in the National Academy of Design, in New York City, and sent a plaster cast to the Trocadéro Museum, in Paris, where it was used by the Anthropologists in comparing its measurements with those of Paul Jones's recovered body. A rumor gained circulation in Paris that the New York bust was a copy of the replica in Philadelphia and the bust in the Trocadéro Museum was often spoken of as the "Philadelphia bust," which accounts for its having been thus erroneously designated in some of the reports.—H. P.

greatest difference between any of them being only 2 millimeters, about seven-hundredths of an inch.

As said before, the cartilaginous portion of the nose had been bent over to the right side, pressed down, and distorted. This disfigurement was clearly due to the fact that when the body was put in the coffin an excess of the hay and straw packing had been placed under the head and across the face, and the mass of hair had been gathered into the linen cap at the back. This raised the face so high that the nose was pressed upon by the coffin lid. This pressure had been so great that the head itself was found turned a little to the right.

Professor Papillault says on this subject: "The bridge of the nose is rather thin, the root somewhat narrow. Seen in profile, the nose is of an undulating form on the bust; now this form depends a great deal on the cartilage. The bony part of the nose is quite compatible with it." The professional anthropologists pay little attention to the cartilages, as these are liable to change, and confine their measurements to the solid or bony structures.

Professor Capitan, after the examinations, had a photograph made of the head, but at the angle at which it was taken the disfigured nose is made to look as if it were Roman in shape, the end being bent over and depressed, and in consequence giving the bridge an unnatural prominence.

The expression of the face is not nearly so good as if the photograph had been taken immediately after opening the coffin. The skin had shrunk and the lips had contracted by exposure to the air and show the edges of the teeth, which were not visible at first. This gives the face a rather ghastly appearance. The hair, which was found neatly dressed, is in disorder and could not be rearranged, as an attempt to comb it revealed a danger of pulling it out. The photograph is herein reproduced, and is interesting for the reason that it shows the well-preserved condition of the flesh. The nose presented the only disfigurement. When the bust was placed beside the body the resemblance of the other features was remarkably striking. Professor Hervé called attention to a peculiar shape of the lobe of the ear, which he said was, according to his experience, something very rarely seen. Its exact copy was observed upon the bust.

The hair was dark brown, slightly streaked with gray and thin above the temples, agreeing fully with the historical descriptions. The teeth were long and somewhat worn. The appearance of both hair and teeth was compatible with the Admiral's age at the time of his death—45 years.

Doctor Papillault, in his report setting forth the details of his investigations, remarks:

> The dimensions of the bust, life-size, by Houdon, are exactly those of the body; the comparison is therefore easier than if the bust had been of a reduced size. Thus all the measurements offer an approximation truly extraordinary. Two experienced

anthropologists measuring the same subject would often make as great differences. Thus I could not hope to find between a bust and its model a similar identity. I recollect having measured, some years ago, a cast of the head of Blanqui, and the statue which Dalou made from that same cast. Dalou was a very precise and conscientious artist, using and even abusing, as his colleagues said, the caliper compass. I found differences greater than in this case.

He concludes his report in the following words:

Without forgetting that doubt is the first quality of all investigators and that the most extreme circumspection should be observed in such matters, I am obliged to conclude that all the observations which I have been able to make plead in favor of the following opinion: The body examined is that of Admiral John Paul Jones.

Then came one of the most interesting features of the verification—the autopsy, doubtless the only one in history ever made upon a body that had been buried for a hundred and thirteen years. In order not to alter in any way the appearance of the corpse, Doctor Capitan and his assistants laid the body upon its face and made the opening in the back to explore the thorax and the viscera contained therein. A quantity of alcohol ran out, the internal organs being thoroughly saturated with it. This accounted for their excellent state of preservation. The left lung showed a spot which was clearly the result of an attack of pneumonia or broncho-pneumonia. It had healed, but remained surrounded by fibrous tissue. Mr. Buell, in his "Paul Jones" (Vol. II, p. 235), says: "During this inspection [of the Russian fleet], which consumed about fifteen days, the Admiral contracted a heavy cold, which almost the very day of his return to St. Petersburg developed into pneumonia. * * * Both the eminent physicians who attended him pronounced his lungs permanently affected and told him he could never hope to endure again the rigors of a Russian winter." This was in June, 1789. In May, 1790, two years before the Admiral's death, he returned to Paris. The same author says of him (Vol. II, p. 267), "The doctors declared that his left lung was more or less permanently affected."

Doctor Capitan and Professor Cornil found nothing particularly characteristic in the heart, which was still quite flexible. It was contracted, and the cardiac walls exhibited muscular fibers striated lengthwise and crosswise. An abundance of small crystals and bacteria was noticed. The liver was of a yellowish-brown color, somewhat contracted, and its tissues were rather dense and compact. There were found in the hepatic cells numerous varieties of crystals and microbes. The masses of tyrosin, appearing to the naked eye like white opaque granules, were less numerous than in the lungs. The cells of this organ were not so well preserved, and according to Doctor Capitan a positive opinion could not be given as to symptoms caused by its condition. The gall bladder was healthy and contained a pale yellowish-brown bile of a pasty consistency. The stomach was contracted and very small. The spleen appeared

REFILLING THE GALLERIES AND RESTORING PROPERTY.

From photograph.

comparatively larger than it ought to have been, considering the marked contraction of all the viscera. Its tissues appeared rather firm; it showed no anatomic lesions. The kidneys were well preserved in form and presented very clearly under the microscope the evidences of interstitial nephritis, commonly called "Bright's disease." Doctor Capitan, in speaking of these organs, in his report says:

> The vessels at several points had their walls thickened and invaded by sclerosis. A number of glomeruli were completely transformed into fibrous tissue and appeared in the form of small spheres, strongly colored by the microscopic reactions. This verification was of the highest importance. It gave the key to the various pathological symptoms presented by Paul Jones at the close of his life—emaciation, consumptive condition, and especially so much swelling, which from the feet gained completely the nether limbs, then the abdomen, where it even produced ascites (exsudat intra abdominal). All these affections are often observed at the close of chronic interstitial nephritis. It can therefore be said that we possess microscopic proof that Paul Jones died of a chronic renal affection, of which he had shown symptoms toward the close of his life. In a word, like my colleague, Papillault, and by different means, relying solely upon the appearance of the subject, on the comparison of his head with the Houdon bust, and besides considering that the observations made upon his viscera agree absolutely with his clinical history, I reach this very clear and well-grounded conclusion, namely, that the corpse of which we have made a study is that of Paul Jones.
>
> I will even add, always with Papillault, that, being given this convergence of exceedingly numerous, very diversified, and always agreeing facts, it would be necessary to have a concurrence of circumstances absolutely exceptional and improbable in order that the corpse here concerned be not that of Paul Jones.

Professor Cornil concludes the report of his microscopic examinations as follows: "We believe that the case in point is interstitial nephritis with fibrous degeneracy of the glomeruli of Malpighi, which quite agrees with the symptoms observed during life."

To show how perfectly the revelations of the autopsy agree with the symptoms of the malady which terminated the life of Paul Jones, in addition to the affection of the left lung described by his historians and hereinbefore mentioned, I give the following citations from authentic documents: Buell, in his "Paul Jones" (Vol. II, page 308), after mentioning that a week before his death it was proposed that he should be called to the bar of the French National Assembly to answer such questions as might be asked of him concerning the needs of the navy and to give his own ideas as to how those needs might best be met, says: "He asked to be excused on the ground that his articulation was not strong and he feared that an effort to make himself heard throughout the vast chamber would so strain his vocal organs as to bring on a fit of convulsive coughing." That night Paul Jones attended a supper at the Café Timon. Capelle, a French writer, describes the affair and gives the Admiral's speech, in which he said in conclusion: "My friends, I would love to pursue this theme, but, as you see, my voice is failing and my lower limbs become swollen when I stand up too long."

Benoit-André, who published a memoir of Paul Jones six years after his death, says: "The day after the Admiral had been at supper at the Café Timon he did not rise until nearly noon. His lower limbs began to swell prodigiously, his stomach soon began to expand, and he had much difficulty at times in breathing; all the time afflicted with an exhausting cough and much raising of mucus."

Colonel Blackden's letter to Mrs. Janet Taylor, describing the dropsical condition of the patient, has already been quoted.

The official certificate of burial says he died of dropsy of the chest ("hydropisie de poitrine").

The complete verification of all these symptoms by means of an autopsy made upon a corpse a hundred and thirteen years after death must be regarded as a notable triumph of anthropologic science, of deep interest to the medical profession, and a service of signal importance in the present instance.

No mark of a wound was discovered on the body. Paul Jones was never wounded. History is in abundant possession of the most detailed records of every fight in which he was engaged, and they make nowhere a single mention of his ever having received a wound. Buell finds no record of a wound. Sherburne, in his well-known "Life and Character of Paul Jones," page 362, says: "Commodore John Paul Jones on the ocean during the American Revolution was as General Washington on the land—never known to be defeated in battle, and neither ever receiving a wound." Sherburne's first edition was published while Richard Dale and other officers who had served with Paul Jones were still living and they never challenged this statement. Sands, in his "Life and Correspondence of Paul Jones," a work which presents a strange intermingling of official facts and uncorroborated assertions, says that it was known, as he was assured, that the Admiral was once wounded in the head, but admits further on that "he never chronicled his wounds in any letter or journal." The same writer asserts that the Admiral, four months before his death in 1792, wrote a draft of a letter, but which was never sent, addressed to the French minister of marine, complaining that his predecessor in that office, M. de Sartine, gave him (Jones) and our minister, who accompanied him, an icy reception, saying: "He did not say to me a single word, nor ask me if my health had not suffered from my wounds and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone." Even if the Admiral had ever made such a draft it would doubtless have been written, according to his custom, in French, and in the original might very well have meant simply that the minister did not take the trouble to ask him whether his health had suffered from wounds and fatigues, occurrences which might naturally be supposed to have happened to so combative a sailor; but as M. de Sartine had left the ministry of marine December 1, 1780, more than eleven years before, the statement does not carry any weight.

The detailed technical reports of the scientists were filed with my former communication to the Government, and publicity has been given to them. Their reproduction here in extenso would be beyond the scope of this report, so that I have confined myself to making the above most important extracts from them, giving the methods employed and the conclusions reached. After the autopsy the internal organs were replaced in the thorax.

Appended to this article are copies of the formal documents, executed under seal, containing the certifications of the official witnesses to the identification of the remains. I said to them all that if there existed a single doubt in the mind of anyone as to the absolute and unquestioned identity of the body submitted for examination I begged that he would frankly make it known. Not a doubt was entertained, and their decision was unanimous.

It was now seen that some deterioration of the body was taking place from exposure to the air. I therefore gave instructions to the experienced specialist in the School of Medicine to take every precaution to preserve the flesh intact, and made arrangements to replace the remains in the original coffin, and incase them in a casket which could be hermetically sealed and prepared for transportation to America.

A leaden casket was procured, in the bottom of which was placed a bed of sawdust treated with phenol. On this was laid the lid of the original coffin, next to it the original coffin, in the bottom of which the winding sheet had been placed. On the top of the winding sheet was spread a sheet of impermeable oiled silk and then a layer of cotton batting impregnated with phenic glycerin. The body was treated with a coating of the same substance, and the face was sprayed with the essence of thymol. The hair was gathered into the small linen cap in which it had been found. The body, upon which the shirt had been replaced, was then put into the original coffin and laid upon the cotton batting above mentioned, after which another layer of this material, saturated with phenic glycerin, was spread over the body and covered with a second sheet of oiled silk. The whole was then covered and packed with medicated cotton batting. There were also placed in the original coffin a glass jar containing specimens of the hay and straw which had been used in packing and a package of fragments of the indurated earth which had closed the hole and the crack in the original coffin. The lid of the casket, in which is a large glass plate, was then soldered on and seals of the American embassy affixed. The casket was afterwards placed in an outer coffin of oak provided with 8 silver handles, the lid of which was secured by 16 silver screws.

On April 20 this coffin was taken to the American Church of the Holy Trinity, Avenue de l'Alma, accompanied by the American ambassador; M. Vignaud, first secretary of the embassy; Colonel Blanchard,

second secretary; Mr. Gowdy, consul-general; and M. Weiss, engineer in charge of the excavations.

The coffin, covered with the American flag, was placed in the receiving vault; the rector of the church, the Rev. Doctor Morgan, offered a prayer, and the remains were left there to await the completion of arrangements for their transfer to the United States.

For several years a search had been pressed to find the house in which the Admiral died, No. 42 Rue de Tournon. There had been renumberings of the dwellings throughout the arrondissement, and it seemed impossible to trace them with sufficient accuracy to locate the house in which Paul Jones, as history states, occupied an "apartment on the first floor above the entresol." This furnished another instance of the mystery which pursued his memory. It was not until the first week in July, 1905, that the place was found, thanks to the untiring and important assistance rendered by M. Taxil, chief surveyor of the city of Paris. The house is now No. 19 of that street. It is the only one in the immediate localty which has a first floor over an entresol.

The style of the ironwork on the balcony indicates an architecture of the period of the close of the reign of Louis XV or the beginning of that of Louis XVI. The street leads toward the entrance to the Senate, palace of the Luxembourg. It was once a fashionable street, and at the present time several persons of distinction live there. On the ground floor of the house a sign bears the words "Lessons in fencing, boxing, and the use of the singlestick." This proffered instruction in the several arts of fighting in the house in which Paul Jones resided, coupled with the fact that the underground station close to the cemetery where his body reposed is called "Combat," looks as if fate had determined that he should everywhere be identified with signs of conflict and struggle, whether in life or in death.

I visited this house for the first time, accompanied by Colonel Blanchard, July 4, 1905. Col. A. Bailly-Blanchard was my second secretary at the embassy, and it gives me peculiar pleasure to make conspicuous mention of his services. I assigned him to duty as my principal assistant, and he was constantly associated with me throughout the entire period of the researches. His rare accomplishments eminently fitted him for the service, and the ability and zeal displayed by him entitled him to the most grateful consideration.

Upon the receipt and examination of my detailed reports, the Government recognized the completeness of the identification of the Admiral's body, and President Roosevelt ordered a squadron of war vessels, composed of the *Brooklyn*, *Tacoma*, *Chattanooga*, and *Galveston*, commanded by Admiral Sigsbee, to proceed to Cherbourg and convey the remains of Paul Jones to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, where they are to receive permanent interment in the crypt of the new chapel now under construction.

HOUSE IN PARIS IN WHICH JOHN PAUL JONES DIED.

The Admiral died in his apartment, the third floor front of the building at the left, No. 42 (now No. 19), Rue de Tournon.

In the meantime I had consulted with the President of France, the minister of foreign affairs, president of the council, general of the army, admiral of the navy, and others, as to what part the French desired to take in the ceremonies attending the transfer of the remains. They all manifested an enthusiastic wish to pay every possible honor on that occasion to the memory of our illustrious sailor, and a programme was accordingly arranged which would best carry out this desire. Admiral Fournier, who represented the naval forces, told me that it was after reading the life of Paul Jones that he had resolved to become a sailor. So that it was the inspiration of our great sea fighter that gave to France an admiral who to-day commands the admiration of naval men of all countries.

Our squadron was heartily welcomed at Cherbourg by a French fleet, the inhabitants of the city vying with the officials to pay every possible attention to our officers and men. In Paris a series of public dinners and receptions were tendered them, and they were fêted in a manner rarely seen even in the brilliant and hospitable capital of France.

On July 6, the anniversary of Paul Jones's birth, Admiral Sigsbee brought 500 blue jackets to Paris, and at 3.30 p. m. the ceremonies attending the transfer of the remains began in the beautiful American Church of the Holy Trinity, Avenue de l'Alma.

In the morning I had had the coffin brought from the vault into the church, placed in front of the chancel, and covered with artistically arranged flowers. The church itself was tastefully dressed with floral decorations. The audience was one of the most distinguished that has ever been drawn together in Paris. The President of the Republic was represented by the chief of his household, who occupied a chair in front of the chancel. On the right of the middle aisle were seated the president of the council and minister of foreign affairs, the leading members of the cabinet, and the highest officers of the French army and navy; on the left the resident American ambassador, the two special ambassadors designated for the occasion, Admiral Sigsbee with his captains and staff officers, Senator Lodge, and the members of the diplomatic corps. Seated in the remaining pews and standing crowded in the aisles and doorways were distinguished persons from many countries. The elaborate uniforms, the exquisite flowers, the brilliant flags, enhanced the beauty of a scene which it is seldom one's fortune to witness and which will be memorable in history.

After careful consultation, I concluded that it would be appropriate to avoid an ordinary funeral service, with dirges and requiems, as the occasion was not a funeral, but rather a glorification of the dead, so that anthems, patriotic airs, and *marches glorieuses* constituted the music. After a simple but most impressive service had been conducted by the

rector, I formally delivered the remains to the Government of the United States in the following words:

This day America claims her illustrious dead.

In the performance of a solemn duty I have the honor to deliver to the Government of the United States, through its designated representative, the remains of Admiral John Paul Jones, to be borne with appropriate marks of distinction to the country upon whose arms his heroic deeds shed so much luster. It is believed that their permanent interment in the land to whose independence his matchless victories so essentially contributed will not be lacking in significance by reason of its long delay.

It is a matter of extreme gratification to feel that the body of this intrepid commander should be conveyed across the sea by the war vessels of a navy to whose sailors his name is still an inspiration, and that this high mission should be confided to so gallant an officer of the same noble profession as the distinguished Admiral who commands the escorting squadron.

An earnest expression of recognition is due to the accomplished savants of France, whose acknowledged skill in anthropologic science confirmed in every particular, with entire accuracy and absolute certainty, the identification of the remains which were so marvelously preserved.

We owe a cordial tribute of gratitude to the Government of the French Republic for the cheerful proffer of facilities during the search for the body, the sympathy so generously manifested upon its recovery, and the signal honors rendered upon this occasion to the memory of a hero who once covered two continents with his renown in battling for the cherished principles of political liberty and the rights of man, for which the two sister Republics have both so strenuously contended.

All that is mortal of this illustrious organizer of victory on the sea lies in yonder coffin beneath the folds of our national standard. When Congress adopted the present form of the American flag, it embodied in the same resolution the appointment of Capt. John Paul Jones to command the ship *Ranger*. When he received the news, history attributes to him the following remark: "The flag and I are twins; born the same hour, from the same womb of destiny. We can not be parted in life or in death." Alas! they were parted during a hundred and thirteen years, but happily they are now reunited.

Mr. Loomis, Assistant Secretary of State and junior special ambassador, received the body, making an interesting address, in which he recited the most stirring events in the career of Paul Jones, and expressed the extreme gratification of the Government upon the recovery of the remains. He finished by delivering them to Admiral Sigsbee for transportation to the United States. Admiral Sigsbee, in accepting the high mission with which he had been charged, delivered a brief, appropriate, and eminently sailorlike address, which was warmly received.

Eight American blue jackets now stepped forward and bore the coffin solemnly from the church. They had been selected for their manly bearing and their stature, each being over 6 feet in height. They commanded the admiration of all who saw them, and the Americans present were naturally delighted to hear the whispered comments of the French ladies: "*Quels beaux garçons!*"

The coffin was placed upon a French artillery caisson tastefully adorned with flags.

The elaborate procession, which took up its march at 5 o'clock, was constituted as follows: A platoon of police, a regiment of French cuirassiers, 500 American sailors, the body of John Paul Jones, borne upon an artillery çaisson, Admiral Sigsbee and staff, the American ambassadors and Senator Lodge, the personnel of the American embassy, the high officials of the French Government and of the diplomatic corps, delegations from the American Navy League and from the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Sons of the American Revolution, and other patriotic organizations, all on foot. Then came two batteries of French horse artillery, two companies of American marines, and two battalions of French infantry with their famous bands.

The column moved down the brilliant avenue of the Champs Élysées and across the Seine by the stately bridge of Alexander III, which leads to the *Invalides*. When the body of John Paul Jones was seen moving solemnly toward the body of Napoleon, each having died in a distant land to be brought back after many years with every mark of honor to the country he had so eminently served, there was a sentiment aroused which deeply touched the hearts of all participating in the ceremony.

When the wide *Esplanade des Invalides* was reached, the coffin was lifted from the caisson and placed upon a catafalque erected beneath a tent of superb construction, the material being a rich royal purple velvet, hung with gold fringe, the front ornamented with swords, shields, cuirasses, and other warlike devices. Here the troops filed by the remains and rendered the highest military honors to the illustrious dead. The coffin was then borne to the mortuary car prepared for it in the railway station close by, and a special train bore it to Cherbourg that night with its guard of honor composed of Americans and Frenchmen.

Paris had that day witnessed a pageant entirely unique in its way and of surpassing beauty and solemnity. The weather was superb and the streets and houses were appropriately decorated. The vast crowds of spectators gazed upon the cortége with sympathy and respect. No cheers or other inappropriate demonstrations were indulged in. The onlookers simply uncovered reverently as the coffin passed. Their bearing in every respect was admirable.

The next day, July 7, I went to Cherbourg to sail for home. A cordial invitation had been received from the Government and Admiral Sigsbee to take passage on board the flagship. While this was deeply appreciated, it was declined, as I felt that it would be in better taste to return by the ordinary lines of travel, now that I had formally placed the subject of the mission in the hands of the Navy and could render no further useful service.

The fleets of the two nations lay side by side in that picturesque military harbor, discharging their peaceful and sympathetic mission, our

phantom-colored vessels presenting an interesting contrast to the black hulls of the French war ships. There I took a last look at the coffin which contained all that is mortal of the hero, the search for whose remains had furnished a congenial task for the past six years. Upon sailing out of the harbor the squadron honored me with a parting ambassadorial salute, and I now felt that my mission in connection with the recovery of the body of our illustrious naval commander was definitely ended.

Official Certification of the American Embassy and Consulate of the Identification of the body of Admiral John Paul Jones

This is to certify that we, the undersigned, met at the School of Medicine (L'École de Médecine), in the city of Paris, at 10 o'clock a. m. on the 14th day of April, 1905, for the purpose of verifying the identification of the remains recently found by the American ambassador in the old Saint Louis Cemetery for the burial of foreign Protestants, and believed to be those of Admiral John Paul Jones.

The body was lying on a table, entirely uncovered, having been taken from the leaden coffin in which it had been found, and from which the linen had been removed and placed on another table.

We had familiarized ourselves with the historical information regarding the age, size, color of hair, general appearance, manner of dress, etc., of John Paul Jones, and there were placed near the body the medal presented to him by Congress to commemorate his battle with the *Serapis*, showing his head in profile, and a copy of the well-known bust made from life by Houdon, which had been loaned for the purpose by the Trocadéro Museum. The remains were those of a man, and were remarkably well preserved by having evidently been immersed in alcohol. The flesh seemed firm and the joints were somewhat flexible. There were bits of tin foil adhering to the hands, feet, and other parts of the body, as if they had been wrapped with it. The body was lying on its back, the hands were crossed over the abdomen, the left hand resting on the right. It was of a grayish brown or, rather, a tan color. The right eyelid was closed, the other was slightly open. The features presented quite a natural appearance, except that the cartilaginous portion of the nose was bent over to the right and pressed down as if by the too close proximity of the lid of the coffin, or by the excess of the hay and straw in packing the body. Several fine oblique lines were traceable upon the face, made by the folds of the winding sheet, which had left upon the skin an imprint of the texture of the fabric. The lips were a very little shrunken or contracted, exposing the extreme ends of the teeth. This slight contraction did not exist when the coffin was opened, and seemed to have been caused by exposure to the air.

Doctor Papillault, professor of anthropology in the School of Anthropology, one of the scientists who had been highly recommended and selected to aid in the work of identifying the body on account of his valuable experience in such examinations, explained to us the methods he had adopted and showed us the elaborate comparative measurements he had made of all the important features of the body and of the Houdon bust. The agreement was singularly exact in every important particular, as will be shown in his report, which he read in our presence, explaining the details as he proceeded. The principal results were as follows: The word "identical" will be used to signify that the agreement between the corresponding dimensions of the body and of the Houdon bust is exact, and that the appearance conforms strictly to the authentic historical description of the Admiral.

Length of body, 5 feet 7⅜ inches. Height of Paul Jones was 5 feet 7 inches. The three-eighths is the difference allowed by anthropologists between a person

standing and the same person lying down. "Was 5 feet 7 inches tall, slender in build, of exquisitely symmetrical form, with noticeably perfect development of limbs." ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI.") Identical.

Principal features of face and head. Identical.

No beard. Identical. Face presented appearance of one who had not shaved for several days.

Hair very dark brown, generally speaking, might be called black. The front hair upon opening the coffin was found to be of an unnatural tan color, like the flesh, evidently discolored by the presence of the alcohol and straw. After taking some hair from the back of the head, where it had been protected by being gathered into a linen bag, and washing it its color was dark brown or black. "He was of the complexion usually united with dark hair and eyes, which were his." ("Memoirs of Paul Jones," Edinburgh edition.) "His hair and eyebrows are black." ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI.") See specimen of hair accompanying this report. Identical.

The hair in a few places was slightly tinged with gray. This fact, together with the condition of the teeth, indicates a person between 40 and 50 years old. John Paul Jones was 45 at the time of his death.

Doctor Capitan, professor of historic anthropology in the School of Anthropology, vice-president of the commission on megalithic monuments, member of the committee on historical and scientific works, and of the Society of Old Paris, etc., then explained the course pursued by him in the identification and the autopsy effected by opening the back and removing and examining the internal organs, so singularly preserved, and gave convincing evidence that the deceased had died of the disease which terminated the life of John Paul Jones. (See Doctor Capitan's report.) In 1790 "the doctors declared that his left lung was more or less permanently affected." (Buell's "History of Paul Jones.") "He died of dropsy of the chest." (Official certificate of burial.) "For two months past he began to lose his appetite, grew yellow, and showed symptoms of jaundice." "A few days before his death his legs began to swell, which proceeded upward to his body, so that for two days before his decease he could not button his waistcoat and had great difficulty in breathing." (Letter of Colonel Blackden.)

The linen taken from the coffin, all in exceedingly good condition, except stained in places a tan color, was then minutely examined. It consisted of a shirt of fine linen, handsomely made, with plaits and ruffles corresponding with the historical description of the Admiral's fondness for dress. "He is a master of the arts of dress and personal adornment, and it is a common remark that notwithstanding the frugality of his means he never fails to be the best dressed man at any dinner or fête he may honor by attending." ("Anecdotes of the Court of Louis XVI.") "To his dress he was, or at least latterly became, so attentive as to have it remarked." ("Memoirs of Paul Jones," Edinburgh edition.) Identical.

A sheet on which was worked with thread the figure 2. A linen bag or cap neatly made, which had been found at the back of the head and into which the hair had been gathered. Upon this was a small initial worked with thread. When the bag was held right side up, the letter was a "J," with the loop nearly closed. When held in a reverse position, it was a "P." If a "J," it would be the initial of Jones, the name which he added to his family name. If a "P," it would be the initial of his original family name, Paul. It may be remarked that then, as now, the French often marked their linen with the initial of their Christian name. In Paris the Admiral was sometimes familiarly addressed as "Mon Paul" and "Monsieur Paul." He often signed his name Paul Jones, and sometimes J. Paul Jones, as shown by his correspondence.

There were no other articles in the coffin, except the hay and straw with which the body had been carefully packed, and no inscription plate had been found. Taking

into careful consideration the convincing proofs of identification of the body by means of the measurements, the autopsy, etc., the marks upon the linen, the fact that the coffin was found in the cemetery in which it was proved to have been buried, that it was superior in solidity and workmanship to the others, that the body had been carefully preserved and packed as if to prepare it for a long voyage, "that, in case the United States, which he had so essentially served and with so much honor, should claim his remains, they might be more easily removed" (Letter of Colonel Blackden, the Admiral's intimate friend, witness of his will, and pallbearer at his funeral, addressed to the eldest sister of Paul Jones, Mrs. Janet Taylor), and the further fact that in exploring the cemetery there was every evidence that the graves of the dead had never been disturbed; that only five leaden coffins were found, four of which were easily identified, three of them having inscription plates, giving dates and names of the deceased, and the fourth containing a skeleton measuring about six feet two inches in length, we regard the identification as completely verified in every particular and are fully convinced that the body discovered is that of Admiral John Paul Jones.

(Signed) HORACE PORTER,
[SEAL OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AT PARIS.] *American Ambassador.*
(Signed) HENRY VIGNAUD,
Secretary American Embassy.
(Signed) JOHN K. GOWDY,
U. S. Consul-General.
(Signed) A. BAILLY-BLANCHARD,
Second Secretary American Embassy.
[SEAL OF THE AMERICAN CONSULATE AT PARIS.]

Translation of the Official Certification of the Participants and Witnesses

At the request of his excellency, Gen. Horace Porter, American ambassador, grand cross of the Legion of Honor, recipient of the Congressional medal of honor, I, Justin de Selves, prefect of the Seine, grand officer of the Legion of Honor, and I, Louis Lepine, prefect of police, grand officer of the Legion of Honor, went on Friday, the 14th day of April, 1905, at 10 a. m., to the School of Medicine, where a leaden coffin was deposited containing the presumed remains of John Paul Jones.

The said coffin was discovered in the former cemetery for foreign Protestants under the conditions stated in the report drawn up by the service des carrières (quarries) of the Department of the Seine and annexed to the present certificate. It was transported to the School of Medicine through the care of M. Géninet, a municipal superintendent of public works, on Saturday, April 8, 1905.

In our presence and in the presence of the ambassador of the United States and in that of the following persons: Mr. Henry Vignaud, first secretary of the embassy of the United States, commander of the Legion of Honor; Col. A. Bailly-Blanchard, late aid-de-camp to the governor of Louisiana, second secretary of the embassy of the United States, officer of the Legion of Honor, officer of public instruction, etc.; John K. Gowdy, consul-general of the United States; Doctor Capitan, professor of the School of Anthropology, member of the committee of historic and scientific works (ministry of public education), member of the municipal commission of Old Paris, late president of the Society of Anthropology of Paris, etc.; Dr. G. Papillault, assistant director of the laboratory of anthropology of the École des Hautes Études, professor in the School of Anthropology; Doctor Hervé, doctor of medicine, professor in the School of Anthropology; Dr. A. Javal, doctor of medicine, physician of the ministry of the interior, laureate of the School of Medicine; Mr. J. Pray, architect in

chief of the prefecture of police, officer of public education; M. Paul Weiss, mining engineer, inspector of the quarries of the Seine, doctor of laws, the examination of the coffin and body was proceeded with. General Porter, Colonel Bailly-Blanchard, and Mr. Weiss declared that they recognized the coffin and the body as being those found in the former cemetery for foreign Protestants and transmitted to the School of Medicine for the purpose of identification.

Doctor Papillault read a detailed report and concluded that the body was that of John Paul Jones.

By the side of the body were placed the bust of the Admiral by Houdon, a plaster cast, loaned by the Museum of the Trocadéro, of the original bust in the Academy of Fine Arts at Philadelphia,[a] also the medal signed Dupré, which was struck in honor of Paul Jones by order of Congress to commemorate his famous battle with the *Serapis* and the *Scarborough*, which enabled one to verify the perfect resemblance existing between the reproduction of the features of the Admiral and the corpse.

The shirt and winding sheet in which the body was wrapped were likewise examined. On the cap which contained his hair those present noted the existence of an initial which in one direction is a capital "P" and in a contrary direction a "J," both letters constituting the initials of the Admiral.

After these various examinations Doctor Capitan read his report upon the result of the autopsy which he had made upon the corpse and which revealed the symptoms of the disease of which it is known the Admiral died. Doctor Capitan and Doctor Papillault were both in accord in affirming as a scientific truth the identity of the deceased.

In view of the perfect coincidence of all the facts relating to the burial and of the agreement of all the physical measurements, those present were unanimous in recognizing the body as being that of Admiral John Paul Jones.

Consequently, the body was replaced in the leaden coffin in which it was discovered, to be ultimately inclosed in a new triple coffin of pine, lead, and oak, sealed and transferred to the vault of the American church in the Avenue de l'Alma.

In witness whereof we have drawn up and signed with all those in attendance the present certificate in triplicate, one of which will be sent through his excellency the minister of foreign affairs to his excellency the American ambassador for delivery to the Government of the United States and the two others filed in the archives of the prefecture of the Seine and the prefecture of police.

Thus done and signed at Paris, the nineteenth day of May, 1905.

(Signed) J. DE SELVES.
(Signed) LOUIS LEPINE.
(Signed) HORACE PORTER
(Signed) HENRY VIGNAUD.
(Signed) A. BAILLY-BLANCHARD.
(Signed) JOHN K. GOWDY.
(Signed) J. CAPITAN.
(Signed) DR. G. PAPILLAULT.
(Signed) GEO. HERVÉ.
(Signed) A. JAVAL.
(Signed) J. PRAY.
(Signed) PAUL WEISS.

[SEAL OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF PARIS.]

[a] See footnote, p. 66.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

From frontispiece of "Mémoires de Paul Jones," by André, Paris, 1798.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

From sketch by unknown artist, at theater in Amsterdam, October 9, 1779.

REPORT OF DOCTOR CAPITAN

[Translation of report on autopsy.]

THE 7th of April, 1905, having been informed by Mr. Vallet, superintendent of mines, by order of the engineer, Mr. Weiss, of the discovery in the explorations in Grange-aux-Belles street, No. 43, of a new leaden coffin appearing to contain a corpse well preserved, I recommended that it should be immediately covered with plaster.

The next day, April 8, I went to the place, and ascertaining that it was impossible in the gallery of the excavations to study the corpse, together with Mr. Weiss I had the necessary measures taken for the removing and transporting of the coffin and the corpse to the Medical School of Practice of the Faculty of Medicine.

Thanks first to the extreme kindness of Mr. Lepine, prefect of police, whom I saw during the day and to whom I explained the facts, thanks also to the kind coöperation of Doctor Rieffel, chief of the anatomical service of the School of Medicine, and of Mr. Himbert, superintendent of material, the coffin was removed the same evening, in entire secrecy, to the School of Practice, where the next morning it was opened.

My colleague, Doctor Papillault, whom I had requested to be good enough to take charge of the anatomical descriptive branch and of the measurements, questions for which he has a very great capacity, made a very careful study of the corpse and drew up the report which has been read already.

I will therefore confine myself solely to my personal observations relating either to the pathological anatomy of the subject or to the various manipulations to which the corpse had been submitted, and which we can verify, thanks to the traces that have been left upon the corpse.

I must say also that at various times we have exchanged ideas, Doctor Papillault and I, and that we have always been of the same opinion, namely, an accumulation of proofs, all leading, often by very different ways, to this conclusion: That there can be here no other corpse in question but that of Paul Jones.

The following observations will show some of the proofs which I have gathered on the subject:

The opening of the coffin took place April 9. I will not dwell upon the particulars, either as to the care exercised in putting it in the coffin [the packing by means of straw and hay] or of the clothing [winding sheet, shirt, and cap], having specially to concern myself with the anatomical branch.

The consistency of the tissues, their aspect, even their special odor (recalling the old anatomical specimens preserved in alcohol) enables one to affirm quite surely that the subject was preserved in alcohol or an aromatic alcoholic liquid without its having been subjected to any other preparation, for it presents no traces of any incision having served to inject any liquid whatever in the veins, according to the present process of embalming. Besides, as we shall see later on, the viscera are intact. We can thus determine the particularly careful means employed in the preparation of the corpse and agreeing fully with the idea which the friend of Paul Jones had at the time of his death to preserve it as long as possible, so as to be able to transport it in perfect security to America when the moment should arrive.

In the first place, the corpse had been probably completely, and at all events surely over the hands and feet, covered with tin foil, carefully applied upon the tissues. We found it there. It is, besides, a process still in use at the present day.

Once clothed in its shirt and wrapped in its winding sheet, the corpse was placed in a solid leaden coffin; then the empty spaces were carefully stuffed with hay and straw, probably rendered aromatic. The whole must have been immersed in alcohol or an alcoholic mixture and the lid soldered, which could be easily done by soldering the edges of the lid turned over and hammered down. A small orifice of about 2 centimeters diameter had been made at the top of the lid, over the head. It might have served, also, to introduce alcohol, or at least to complete the supply introduced and to admit of the escape of air or gas after or at the time of closing the coffin. This small orifice was closed with solder at the time of burial.

Under those conditions and according to the information which had been furnished by the employees of the amphitheater, accustomed to prepare corpses, a slow saturation takes place—of the muscles first, then of the viscera themselves, which causes their perfect preservation.

The teguments, in fact, of a brownish gray, had retained their flexibility. They were notably contracted. The muscles were of a brownish gray also, strongly saturated with the preserving liquid. They had the odor of anatomic specimens long preserved in alcohol. The tendons and aponeuroses had retained all their solidity, and the subject could be lifted up bodily.

Tuesday, April 11, my friend Mr. Monpillard, the very distinguished and very well-known microphotographer, was kind enough to take the very fine photographs of the subject, full size, and the head, annexed to this report. They give very accurately the appearance of the corpse.

It was indispensable afterwards to make the autopsy. I did this on April 13. In order not to alter in any way the appearance of the corpse, I made the autopsy by opening the back.

Upon opening the thorax I was greatly astonished to find the viscera much contracted, but very well preserved. The lungs presented some adhesions to the pleural walls, especially in the upper lobe. When cut open, they show a brownish parenchyma. Upon the surface and in the interior of the pulmonary tissue there exist, especially at the level of the diaphragmatic edge of the lower lobe, small white hard masses, varying in volume from a grain of canary seed to a diameter of from 3 to 4 millimeters, and having the appearance of calcified tubercles. But in view of the existence of concretions of an analogous appearance at the surface of the teguments of the lower limbs, this diagnosis can not be sustained. Besides, as will be seen in the annexed report of Professor Cornil, it is a question of a mass of tyrosin.

The heart, small, contracted, the color of dead leaves, has its valves absolutely normal and still perfectly flexible; the walls of the two ventricles measure 5 to 6 millimeters in thickness. There is no hypertrophy of the left ventricle. On the surface of the right auricle there were observed some flat concretions *sous-endocardiques* and recalling the appearance of those of the lungs.

The liver was of a yellowish brown. When cut open, it presented a tissue rather dense and compact, from which escaped the preserving liquid, with which it was deeply saturated. It was also rather contracted. The gall bladder was healthy and contained a pale yellowish brown bile, of a pasty consistency.

The stomach was very small and contracted. The spleen appeared comparatively more voluminous than it ought to have been, considering the marked contraction of all the viscera. It measured from 6 to 7 centimeters upon its greater axis. Its tissue appeared rather firm.

The two kidneys, on the contrary, small, hard, and contracted, appeared more reduced still in volume than they should have been.

The intestines were completely contracted and empty.

Considering the alteration of the appearance of the head, which always results from the removal of the brain, I thought that there was no need to remove this viscus. Previous observations had, besides, shown me that the liquid on the outside could not penetrate the brain, which certainly must have been completely deteriorated.

Not wishing, out of respect to the distinguished personality of the subject, to retain the viscera, I had them carefully replaced in the thorax, after having removed several small fragments intended for microscopic examination, which Professor Cornil, professor of pathological anatomy of the faculty of medicine of Paris, was good enough to make in person with his great ability. But before giving the result of this examination, the impression derived from this autopsy was, first, the astonishing preservation of the viscera, which had enabled one to make so very clear an autopsy one hundred and thirteen years after the death of the subject. Furthermore, it seemed evident that one had to deal with the

organs of a patient rather pronouncedly consumptive, with viscera emaciated and contracted. Thus the kidneys, on a simple microscopical examination, had the appearance of kidneys affected by interstitial nephritis.

Besides, the microscopic examination, of which we can see a full account in the report hereto annexed of Professor Cornil, well corroborates these first verifications.

I have been able to recognize very clearly on the fine microscopic preparations executed by Professor Cornil in person, and which he has been good enough to show to me, the following various peculiarities:

The heart is normal, with streaks of some muscular fibers still very clearly visible.

The liver seems likewise normal, with its anatomical disposition very clear. The cells of this organ were badly preserved. It was therefore not possible to see whether there had been such cellular lesions, more or less grave, as accompany the acute liver troubles analogous to symptoms of jaundice which Paul Jones presented at the end of his life.

The lungs contain in sufficiently large number these white granulations, which seem to have, under the microscope, the appearance of masses formed by a felting of fine needles of tyrosin (product of the decomposition of azotized substances). This particularly curious circumstance may be due to the fact (if it is admitted that the corpse had simply been immersed in alcohol) that before the alcohol could have penetrated all the viscera there took place a beginning of decomposition which brought on the production of these crystals.

The microbes are equally abundant upon the sections of the lung. They are the ordinary microbes of putrefaction, in the form of round grains and small sticks. Professor Cornil tried in vain to discover the tuberculous bacilli.

Besides, the only lesions that one could locate were small rounded masses, hard and at times calcified in the lungs, which correspond to small patches of broncho-pneumonia partially cicatrized. This fact agrees well with what we know of the disease of Paul Jones, who, after his sojourn in Russia, coughed a great deal and to such an extent that he could not speak at the session of the National Assembly where he was received.

As to the kidneys, the sections presented the appearance, very clearly, of chronic interstitial nephritis.

The vessels at several points had their walls thickened and invaded by sclerosis. A number of glomeruli[a] were completely transformed into fibrous tissue and appeared in the form of small spheres, strongly colored by the microscopic reactions. This verification was of the highest

[a] These glomeruli are rounded masses of vessels surrounded by a capsule and are where the most important part of the urinary secretion takes place.—H. P.

importance. It gave the key to the various pathological symptoms presented by Paul Jones at the close of life—emaciation and consumptive condition, and especially a considerable swelling, which from the feet gained completely the nether limbs, then the abdomen, where it even produced ascites (exsudat intra-abdominal). All these affections are often observed at the close of chronic interstitial nephritis. It can therefore be said that we possess microscopic proof that Paul Jones died of a chronic renal affection, of which he had shown symptoms toward the close of his life.

In a word, like my colleague Papillault, and by different means, relying solely upon the appearance of the subject, on the comparison of his head with the Houdon bust, and besides considering that the observations made upon his viscera absolutely agree with his clinical history, I reach this very clear and well-grounded conclusion, namely, that the corpse of which we have made a study is that of Paul Jones.

I will even add, always with Papillault, that, being given this convergence of exceedingly numerous, very diversified, and always agreeing facts, it would be necessary to have a concurrence of circumstances absolutely exceptional and improbable in order that the corpse here concerned be not that of Paul Jones.

In closing I may be permitted to express, always with my colleague Papillault, the extreme satisfaction that we have had in bringing to the solution of this important problem that Gen. Horace Porter, ambassador of the United States, assisted by Colonel Bailly-Blanchard, secretary of the American embassy, has pursued with such remarkable and intelligent perseverance, the cooperation of our special qualifications, thanks to which the identification of the great American Admiral has been realized, when, without these means of investigation, it would have been impossible to arrive at the knowledge that at last the corpse of Paul Jones has been discovered, and that thus the honors which he has awaited for one hundred and thirteen years might at last be rendered him by his country.

J. Capitan,
Professor in the School of Anthropology,
Member of the Municipal Commission of Old Paris.

Seen in profile, the nose is of an undulating form on the bust. Now this form depends a great deal on the cartilage. The bony part of the nose, however, is quite compatible with it.

The prognathism of the face is feeble; that of the upper lip equally so; but the chin is so little prominent that the projection of the jaws is remarkable. The chin itself is solid, neither bifid nor pointed.

The softer parts—eyes, mouth, lobes of the nose, etc.—are too much deformed for me to make a useful comparison. By an excess of prudence I will not even insist upon a very peculiar characteristic of the cartilage of the ear pointed out to me by Professor Georges Hervé, and which seemed entirely identical on the bust and on the body. However, I will add one remark: ordinarily there exists between the face and the cranium a harmony which led me to suppose, on seeing the engraving of the bust long before any examination of the body, still in its coffin, that the head had a tendency toward brachycephaly. I had pointed this out to Doctor Capitan, and I found a cephalic index of 82.6; consequently there was moderate brachycephaly.

D. MEASUREMENT

	Bust.	Body.
	cm.	*cm.*
Length of face from root of hair to chin	19.5	19.5
Length from root of hair to subnasal point	12.7	12.9
Length from subnasal point to chin	7.5	7.4
Length of upper lip[a]	2.4	2.5
Length of lower lip[b] and of chin	4.6	4.6
Minimum width of forehead	10.4	10.2

[a] Taken on the body from the subnasal point to the edge of the superior incisors.
[b] Taken on the body from the edge of the inferior incisors to the end of the chin.

The foregoing measurements are the only ones I was able to take with any certainty on the body and on the bust simultaneously. The bizygomatic width, so interesting to anthropologists, could not be taken on the bust on account of the hair which masks that region. The width of the cheek bones, frequently taken by artists, had no value whatever on the body, the tissues of which had shrunk and presented dimensions which are too weak.

The length of the nose was likewise not comparable; a long, well-accentuated crease on the bust between the eyebrows does not admit of determining the beginning of the nose in a sufficiently approximate manner. There remain, then, only the measures to the number of six, which I set forth in the above table.

It is to be remarked, first, that the dimensions of the bust are exactly those of the corpse; the comparison is therefore easier than if the bust had been of a reduced size. Thus all the measurements offer an approximation really extraordinary. Two experienced anthropologists

measuring a same subject would often make as great differences. Thus I could not hope to find between a bust and its model a similar identity. I recollect having measured, some years ago, a cast of the head of Blanqui and the statue which Dalou made from this same cast. Dalou was a very precise and conscientious artist, using and even abusing, as his colleagues said, the compass. I found differences greater than those in this case.

Is it possible to admit of so extraordinary a coincidence, that of a subject, buried in the same place, having a high social position, of a stature very much the same, of nearly the same age, color of hair identical, and representing the features of the face with resemblance enough to admit of the above comparisons we have made, and presenting, finally, the same proportions of the face? If the number of subjects compared included several millions, perhaps the probability of such a coincidence might be admitted; but here it is a question of a very limited number of individuals interred in the same place. Now, of one hundred bodies taken by chance, I have found less than ten the stature of which could answer to that of John Paul Jones. With the variations of 2 centimeters there remained no more than three of a dark color. Of these, no dimensions of the face coincided. By this sole example one can figure the amount of coincidences that would have to be put together to bring about the identity of the numerous characteristics taken into consideration as above.

Finally, it must be further admitted that chance, after having chosen among the thousands an individual purposely made to deceive the experts, would have had to make him die of a malady destined to deceive Doctor Capitan in his autopsy, and then, as a last stratagem, to have marked the cap which contained his hair with an initial which in one direction is a capital P with a small loop, and looked at in contrary direction a J, the loop of which is closed, both letters constituting the initials of the Admiral.

Will it not appear to any impartial reader that chance would have put itself to very great trouble in bringing to the same point so many coincidences, when it was so simple to lay Admiral John Paul Jones where he should be? It is for this reason, without forgetting that doubt is the first quality of all investigators, and that the most extreme circumspection should be observed in such a matter, that I am obliged to conclude that all the observations which I have been able to make plead in favor of the following opinion: The body examined is that of Admiral John Paul Jones.

Done at Paris, April 14, 1905.

Dr. G. PAPILLAULT,
Assistant Director of the Laboratory of Anthropology
of the École des Hautes Études,
Professor at the School of Anthropology, 3 Quai Malaquais.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

From engraving by Henri Toussaint, 1906.

REPORT OF PROFESSOR CORNIL

[Translation.]

THE organs examined by me, the lungs, the heart, the liver, the kidneys, were well enough preserved to be easily recognized by the naked eye and under the microscope. Their structure was preserved; their fibrous structure and their general disposition, seen slightly magnified, clearly characterized each of these viscera; but with a higher magnifying power (from 200 to 500 diameters), the cellular elements were badly preserved, the nuclei were badly or not at all colored. The thin sections (*coupes*) were encumbered with salts, leucine, tyrosin, crystals of fat, etc., and bacteria. We conclude therefrom, viewing the matter from the state of preservation of the body, that it had been placed in alcohol a day or two after death had ensued, or that the alcohol had not been in sufficient quantity to penetrate all the parts and that a partial decomposition had taken place in the deeply seated organs, the cells of which had been incompletely acted upon. It may be also that the alcohol had been spilt and had escaped before the action was complete. It is this which accounts for the presence of bacteria and salts and for the bad preservation of the cells. With these remarks we give the result of our analysis for each particular organ.

Left lung.—On the surface of the lungs were whitish and opaque granules, from the size of a millet seed to a hemp seed. We cut thin sections of the lung surface comprising several of these granules. They were located in the pleura and in the lung itself. The fibrous structure of the pleura and the alveoli were perfectly preserved. The granules themselves were surrounded by the pleuropulmonary tissues which formed an envelope around them. They were composed entirely of voluminous clusters of fine crystals, acidulated with tyrosin, perfectly characteristic, in brush form and very long. These crystals resisted the action of acetic acid and even nitric acid diluted with water. My attention was attracted in this lung to a small grayish spot in the center and surrounded by a thick fibrous envelope. Upon the section the central part presented pulmonary alveoli distended by small round cells and an agglomeration of tyrosin crystals.

I treated several of these preparations with Ziehl's coloring matter to search for the bacilli of tuberculosis. There were none. It was simply a former pneumonia or broncho-pneumonia spot healed and surrounded by a fibrous tissue.

The heart.—The heart, which was small on account of being contracted by the alcohol, showed no lesions of the orifice. The aorta exhibited no signs of atheromatosis. Microscopic sections of the cardiac walls showed muscular fibers, streaked lengthwise and crosswise, separated by the normal conjunctive tissues. A like abundance of small crystals and bacteria were noticed.

The liver.—Sections of this gland, slightly magnified, resembled perfectly those of a normal liver; the lobes, the central veins of the lobes, the sinus of the *veine-porte*, the radiating bays of the hepatic cells are all well preserved. We can thus assure ourselves that the conjunctive perilobular tissue is not thickened. With a higher magnifying power the hepatic cells have no coloring nuclei, and there also exists there numerous varieties of crystals and microbes. The masses of tyrosin visible to the naked eye, like very fine white and opaque granules, are less numerous than in the lungs.

The kidneys are well preserved in their form. Sections enabled one to establish the constituent elements, the fibrovascular structure, the tubuli, and glomeruli. Preparations colored in two ways, with hematoxyline, and, according to Van Giesen, revealed glomerulose lesions. A certain number of glomeruli, in fact, presented a fibrous formation, characterized by the red coloring due to the Van Giesen colorant. In the place of the vessels with thin walls and permeable by the blood, a uniform red tint is observed, due to the formation of the conjunctive tissue. It is a real interstitial glomerulitis far advanced on some of the glomeruli thus transformed into fibrous nodules. Moreover, the Bowmann capsules were at times much thickened. The arteries were likewise very thick and surrounded or filled with crystals of fat.

These lesions indicate interstitial nephritis. The bad preservation of the cells do not prevent me from making a statement with reference to the lesions to which they were subjected.

The spleen did not reveal any anatomical lesions.

According to this examination, the only organs which were injured were the kidneys. As far as can be judged by the examination of the badly preserved viscera, we believe that the case in point is interstitial nephritis, with fibrous degeneracy of the glomeruli of Malpighi, which quite agrees with the symptoms observed during life.

Paris, June 1, 1905.

V. CORNIL.

NOTE.—Six illustrations, microphotographs of sections of kidneys, lungs, and liver of Jones's body have been made. They are an important part of the testimony which establishes the identity of the body.

A limited number of these prints have been prepared, and any patriotic, medical, or other society or organization desiring to examine them and compare them with the printed reports regarding the diseases with which John Paul Jones suffered may obtain them from the Navy Department and insert them in its copy of this volume following the report of Professor Cornil.—COMPILER.

VIEW OF THE YARD OVER THE BURIED SAINT LOUIS CEMETERY.

Within the doorway at the left is the fifth shaft (marked E on the plan), near which the body of John Paul Jones was found. Drawn by Jay Hambridge from photographs.

PLACE WHERE THE BODY WAS FOUND.

Gen. Horace Porter at the left, Second Secretary of Embassy A. Bailly-Blanchard, and Paul Weiss, engineer. The workman holds the point of his pick over the spot where he had struck the leaden coffin.

REPORT OF ENGINEER WEISS

[Translation.]

FRENCH REPUBLIC,
PREFECTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE,
Paris, May 9, 1905.

At the request of His Excellency Gen. Horace Porter, American ambassador to the French Republic, the service of the quarries of the Department of the Seine was charged by the prefect of the Seine to proceed with the researches with a view of discovering the remains of Admiral John Paul Jones, who died in Paris in 1792 and was interred in the former cemetery for foreign Protestants, as it appears from the report of the burial transcribed by Mr. Charles Read.

It was the long and patient researches of General Porter, assisted by Colonel Bailly-Blanchard, which determined with certainty the place of burial.

They found in the archives, and particularly in the archives of the prefecture of the Seine, documents giving the exact plan and description of the cemetery.

On the other hand, it appears from a letter of Colonel Blackden—an intimate friend of Admiral Jones—that the body had been put in a leaden coffin, so that it might be easily transported to America in case the United States, which he had served in such a brilliant manner and with so much honor, should claim his remains.

The place and manner of burial were therefore perfectly well determined and enabled one to limit the researches. It was a matter of concern in the first place to ascertain with precision the exact boundaries of the former cemetery for foreign Protestants.

Now this cemetery figures very plainly upon the map of Paris, made by Verniquet in 1791. It consisted of a garden of large dimensions, bordering the rue Grange-aux-Belles and adjoining a dwelling house looking upon a courtyard, from which it was separated by a wall containing a gate. This gate opened upon a flight of steps giving access to the cemetery, the ground of which was lower than the courtyard. See plan [a] annexed to report.

According to divers documents collected by Colonel Bailly-Blanchard, the garden forming the cemetery was planted with fruit trees and was traversed crosswise by two wide walks.

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[a] Reproduced, p. 56.

After 1805 burials ceased in the cemetery, and in the first half of the nineteenth century the garden was leveled up with all sorts of rubbish to a height of 3 or 4 meters, so that the ground of the garden came up to a level with the courtyard. Divers buildings were erected on this filled-up ground, notably a building used as a public laundry, two houses, stables, barns, etc. All these buildings were erected upon unstable earth; subsequent excavations showed that the foundations did not reach down to the level of the buried bodies, and that they did not rest upon the natural soil—consisting largely of gypsum, which forms the substratum of the region—but upon the made earth.

The photographs, Nos. 1 to 9, inclusive, annexed to the present report, enable one to form an idea of the nature of the buildings erected on the site of the former cemetery and of the difficulties which the researchers were to encounter.

The house on the courtyard now bearing the number 47, ot the rue Grange-aux-Belles, had already figured in the plan of Verniquet. Since then there had been added another building, serving the purpose of a hotel, having two windows on the rue Grange-aux-Belles. The separating wall of the courtyard and the cemetery is still visible and can be easily traced on the premises.

On the side of the rue Grange-aux-Belles, the present wall, indicated by the numbers 43 and 45, formed the boundary of the cemetery, which was likewise inclosed on the opposite side by walls raised afterwards, which still exist in the old places.

The limits of the old cemetery were therefore easy to determine, and no doubt could exist with regard to the extent of the area in which the researches were to be made.

At the request of His Excellency General Porter, it was decided to begin the researches beneath the laundry. The excavations could not be undertaken by means of open cuts on account of the opposition made by the tenants, and recourse to subterranean work had to be resorted to. A shaft was sunk at A (see plan) under the shed belonging to Bassigny, a grain dealer. The first 2.70 meters passed through the filling, and after that a stratum of black vegetable earth, which formed the soil of the old cemetery. Below this bed of vegetable soil, of a thickness of 1.30 meters, a bed of black earth mixed with the débris of gypsum was traversed, when the natural soil formed of white marl and gypsum was reached.

With the first blows of the pick bones were encountered, which fixed the exact level at which the dead had been interred. Nowhere were any vaults of masonry, analogous to those in cemeteries of the present day, discovered. All the bodies had been interred directly in the earth.

At a depth of 5.50 meters the shaft was stopped, and on a level with the vegetable earth, a gallery was run penetrating beneath the laundry and carried as far as the old wall of separation of the cemetery for foreign

Protestants and the courtyard of the adjacent dwelling houses. The old wall was encountered at the exact spot indicated on Verniquet's map. Directly after this discovery, which fixed definitively the site of the old cemetery, two longitudinal galleries were run, intended to explore the laundry. At the same time a shaft was sunk in the street by which two further galleries to meet the first two were run; moreover, to hasten the work, excavations were made in the cellars situated on the north side of the building (see photographs of works, Nos. 1 to 13, inclusive). Close to the site of the old flight of stairs, giving access to the garden, the gallery extending along the wall of separation encountered a leaden coffin, very much flattened, the head of which was wanting. On the center of the coffin a copper plate was discovered, in a very bad state, which was able to be partially deciphered by the care of M. André, a restorer of objects of art. The face was indecipherable, but on examining the reverse side, an inscription was found indicating that the body was that of an Englishman who died May 20, 1790.

The coffin was therefore not that of Admiral Jones.

Beneath the laundry, the area of which was fully explored, both by galleries and by soundings, no other leaden coffin was found, while many bones were encountered.

The work being particularly difficult in this place on account of the infiltrations of water, all the galleries were rapidly and carefully refilled and the work of exploring the property of the grain dealer begun. Three fresh shafts were sunk and the galleries extended in all directions (see plan). At the base of shaft B in the north gallery a second leaden coffin, perfectly well preserved, was soon discovered. It bore a plate with the name of "Richard Hay, Esquire, died in Paris the 29th January, 1785." The researches were then continued and a few meters farther on another leaden coffin was unearthed. In immediate contact above it there had been interred, without precaution, another body. The whole was taken out and the bones above removed.

It was then established that the wooden coffin, which had contained the leaden coffin, and of which some fragments were still on the side, had been removed from the upper part except near the feet. No distinctive mark or plate could be discovered. It is probable that at the moment of burying the second body the gravedigger had been led to remove the top of the wooden coffin and the plate at the same time.

Under these conditions nothing remained but to open the coffin to identify the body. The opening of the coffin took place in the presence of His Excellency Gen. Horace Porter, Colonel Bailly-Blanchard, M. Weiss, inspector of quarries, and the agents charged with the conduct of the work.

As soon as the lid was raised the minute precautions that had been taken when the body was placed in the coffin became apparent. The

body was packed in hay and straw and appeared ready to be transported to a long distance. Upon withdrawing some of the straw the winding sheet which enveloped the corpse became visible, and in raising this sheet the body was discovered to be in a marvelous state of preservation.

The sole fact of the careful packing was a serious presumption leading to the supposition that one was in the presence of Admiral Jones. The letter of Colonel Blackden expressly mentions that the body had been arranged in such a manner that it could be easily transported.

It was then decided to have the body examined by Doctor Capitan, professor in the School of Anthropology. Doctor Capitan came to visit the premises on Saturday, April 8, and asked that the coffin be conveyed to the School of Medicine in order to proceed with the anthropometric measurements necessary for the identification.

After the prefect of police had been notified, the coffin was transported, Saturday evening, to the School of Medicine, through the care of M. Géninet, municipal conductor. It was handed over to the superintendent of materials and deposited in one of the dissecting rooms until the official identification could take place.

While the anthropometric measurements were being proceeded with, the subterranean work was continued.

Along the northern wall a fourth leaden coffin was found, bearing the name of "George Maidison, Gentilhomme anglais et Secrétaire de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique auprès de Sa Majesté très-chrétienne, décédé à Paris le 27 Août 1783, âgé de 36 ans."

Along the western wall a well was discovered, which was mentioned in the old documents pertaining to the cemetery, and then a brick vault containing a wooden coffin without any indication of name, and, finally, a fifth leaden coffin.

This anonymous coffin, 2.10 meters long, contained the remains of a man of very tall stature; it was accompanied by a leaden rectangular-shaped box containing the viscera of the deceased and a leaden heart of large dimensions in which the heart of the deceased had evidently been inclosed.

This coffin could not have been that of Admiral Jones, partly for the reason of the exceptional stature of the corpse, and partly on account of the special circumstances of the burial, which would certainly have been mentioned in the certificate of burial.

In the meantime the anthropometric measurements established the identity of the body previously found. The measurements of the head, taken with care, coincided to within a millimeter with those of the bust of Admiral Jones, by Houdon, in possession of the Trocadéro; the initial found upon the cap which contained the hair afforded, moreover, a fresh proof in support of the conclusions of the scientists. Excavations were consequently stopped on April 15, and the restoring of the premises to order begun.

Thus, as can be seen by an examination of the map, the old cemetery was almost entirely explored; 25 meters of shafts, 245 meters of galleries, 178 meters of soundings were excavated.

To summarize: In the course of the excavations five leaden coffins only were found.

One alone, according to the circumstances, could be that of Admiral Jones. The body contained in this coffin was in such an extraordinary state of preservation that it could be easily identified.

The discovery of the remains of Admiral Jones is thus scientifically established, and the service of the quarries is happy to have contributed to bring again to the light of day the celebrated sailor who covered himself with so much glory at the time when the arms of old France and the young American Republic of the United States fought shoulder to shoulder.

Paris, the 19th day of May, 1905.

P. Weiss,

The Engineer of Mines, Inspector of Quarries.

FRENCH ARTILLERY CAISSON, BEARING THE COFFIN OF JOHN PAUL JONES, MOVING ALONG THE CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES, PARIS, JULY 6, 1905.

From a photograph.

AMERICAN SAILORS CROSSING THE BRIDGE OF ALEXANDER III. AND PASSING BEFORE THE CATAFALQUE ON WHICH WAS PLACED THE COFFIN OF JOHN PAUL JONES, PARIS, JULY 6, 1905.

From a photograph.

REPORT OF REAR-ADMIRAL SIGSBEE U. S. NAVY

[Extract.]

OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER SECOND SQUADRON,
NORTH ATLANTIC FLEET,
U. S. S. Brooklyn, Tompkinsville, N. Y., July 26, 1905.

SIR: In making my report relative to the John Paul Jones expedition, under my command in chief, I shall divide the report into four parts, owing to the length of the report. The first part will embrace the passage from Tompkinsville, Staten Island, New York, to Cherbourg, France, including the proceedings immediately following the arrival at Cherbourg. The second part will embrace the matters relating to our visit to Cherbourg and Paris, including the ceremonies connected with the transfer and the embarkation of the remains of Paul Jones. The third part will embrace the return passage from Cherbourg to Annapolis, Md., and the fourth part will embrace matters connected with the transfer of the remains to the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

PART I

In obedience to the orders of the Navy Department, I took command in chief of the third division of the Second Squadron, detached temporarily from the North Atlantic Fleet for the John Paul Jones expedition, on June 18, 1905.

I got the squadron under way, at Tompkinsville, for Cherbourg, France, at 1 p. m. on Sunday, June 18.

The squadron was composed of the *Brooklyn*, flag ship, Capt. John M. Hawley, U. S. Navy; the *Tacoma*, Commander Reginald F. Nicholson, U. S. Navy; the *Galveston*, Commander William G. Cutler, U. S. Navy; and the *Chattanooga*, Commander Alex. Sharp, U. S. Navy.

Because of the recently reported icebergs and floes well to the southward of the Great Bank, I chose the most southerly steamship route for the passage.

On June 26, late in the afternoon, the North German Lloyd steamship *Deutschland* passed in sight of the squadron, bound eastward, and the American Line steamship *New York*, bound westward, passed a few hours later.

No stops were necessary because of derangement of the machinery or other mishaps.

The light-house on Bishops Rock was sighted at about 1 p. m. on June 29. After that the weather thickened. Thereafter, until 9.30 a. m. the following day, June 30, no landmarks were seen, nor any whistles heard, until we sighted the breakwater fort at the western entrance to Cherbourg, about 2 miles distant, and saw the pilot boats coming out.

We entered the harbor in column at about 9.30 a. m., and therefore on time, according to our schedule, notwithstanding the fog. The day before, when off to southward of the Lizard, I sent a wireless message broadcast, stating that the John Paul Jones squadron was in the channel and due at Cherbourg early on the 30th. We received a reply, not knowing whence at the time, asking if I desired telegrams to be sent. I replied, "Yes; to the American ambassador at Paris and the American consul at Cherbourg." I afterwards found that telegrams had been sent and received accordingly, and, as it appeared, from the Lizard. It may as well be said here that for some days previously we had received from the station at Poldhu items of news, by wireless, daily. They reached us with more or less completeness when we were distant a thousand miles from Poldhu.

When inside of the breakwater I saluted the port with 21 guns. The salute was returned at once. During the day official visits were made as follows by myself: To Vice-Admiral Besson; to Rear-Admiral de Marolles, the subpréfet; and to M. Albert Mahieu, mayor of Cherbourg. These visits were returned while I was in Paris, my departure having been previously arranged for in conference with Vice-Admiral Besson. In fact, throughout all the proceedings thereafter, Vice-Admiral Besson showed to myself the most delicate appreciation of the difficulties of my position, owing to the scant time at my disposal, in which many duties and operations were to be completed.

At 9 a. m. on July 1 three French war vessels of the second division of the Squadron of the North, under Rear-Admiral S. Leygue, arrived in Cherbourg from Brest. These vessels had also encountered twelve hours of thick fog. The French vessels were the *Bouvines*, Captain Lamson; the *Henri IV*, Captain Lephay, and *Amiral Trehouart*, Captain Schilling. The French vessels were painted black, and were assigned berths less favorable than ours for communication with the shore. Although Rear-Admiral Leygue was my senior, he saluted my flag immediately his flagship had reached the inside of the breakwater, thereby anticipating me, and evidently by intention; in fact, I so ascertained afterwards. I promptly made my visit to Admiral Leygue, and he promptly returned it, knowing that I desired to proceed to Paris on the evening of that day. He also directed his captains to visit me immediately, which they did. This was merely characteristic of the tact and consideration shown throughout by all French officers.

At 5 p. m. on July 1, I left Cherbourg for Paris with my personal staff, Lieut. Cassius B. Barnes, U. S. Navy, and Lieut. Edward McCauley, jr., U. S. Navy, and with an additional staff composed of the following officers: Capt. John M. Hawley, U. S. Navy, commanding *Brooklyn;* Commander Reginald F. Nicholson, U. S. Navy, commanding *Tacoma;* Commander William G. Cutler, U. S. Navy, commanding *Galveston;* Commander Alexander Sharp, U. S. Navy, commanding *Chattanooga;* Lieut. Commander Frederic C. Bowers, U. S. Navy, fleet engineer; Surg. John M. Steele, U. S. Navy, fleet medical officer; Pay Inspector Samuel L. Heap, U. S. Navy, fleet paymaster; and Chaplain G. Livingston Bayard, U. S. Navy.

I also ordered Mr. Henri Marion, professor of languages, United States Naval Academy, to Paris, as I required his services as interpreter and in translating official documents. Mr. Marion had been granted permission by the Navy Department to take passage on the flagship to Cherbourg and return.

The train arrived in Paris a few moments after midnight. We proceeded at once to the Hotel Brighton, 218 Rue de Rivoli, where quarters had previously been engaged for us.

PART II

On the night of July 1, Mr. Francis B. Loomis, special ambassador of the United States in connection with the reception and transfer of the remains of John Paul Jones, arrived at Cherbourg on board the steamer *Philadelphia.* I had prepared for his reception on board the *Brooklyn.* Mr. Loomis was met on board the *Philadelphia* by an officer from the *Brooklyn,* and escorted to the *Brooklyn,* where he remained overnight in quarters already prepared for him. He left the following morning, July 2, for Paris, where he arrived at 3.30 p. m.

On Sunday afternoon, July 2, with my whole escort of officers, I visited the American ambassador, Mr. Robert S. McCormick, at the embassy. He was very zealous for our convenience and entertainment, and, by his tact, courtesy, and knowledge of affairs, contributed greatly to the success which attended our visit to Paris. In social-official matters, Mrs. McCormick gave us most kindly and helpful advice, in addition to dispensing gracefully the hospitalities of the embassy.

On July 3, Monday, at 11.30 a. m., Mr. Loomis and myself, attended by Lieutenant-Commander Smith and Lieutenant McCauley, visited by appointment the French prime minister, M. Rouvier. Afterwards I visited Mr. Thomson, the minister of marine, and his chief of staff. In the afternoon an informal reception was given at the house of the American naval attaché, Lieutenant-Commander Smith, which our whole party attended. That day I also made my visit to Gen. Horace Porter, first special ambassador of the United States in connection with the transfer of the remains of John Paul Jones.

On Tuesday, the 4th of July, we received many visits in the morning from Americans living in Paris, and, both by telegram and letter, I received expressions of patriotism and felicitation on our national holiday. The annual dinner of the American Chamber of Commerce, to which all had been invited, was abandoned in respect to the memory of the late Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, whose remains were at that time lying in state. At 6 p. m. I proceeded with my staff, in company with Mr. Loomis, to the American embassy, from which place we were conducted to the palace of the President, where we were received by the President of France, Mr. Loubet. From the embassy the five carriages containing Mr. Loomis, myself, and staff, were completely surrounded by a company of cuirassiers, forming the same escort which was given the King of Spain on his first visit to the President of France during the the preceding month. At the gate of the palace the escort parted and permitted the carriages to pass within, where several companies of infantry were drawn up. On our arrival, the troops presented arms and the band played the American national anthem. The President expressed the friendly feeling which the people of France held for the American people, and referred to the cause of this visit as another tie which served to bind the two peoples, the two great Republics, to a close friendship and a perfect understanding. We were conducted back to the embassy with the same honors as were given us in going to the palace.

On the 5th, Mr. Loomis, myself, and staff were entertained at a state luncheon by the French prime minister and Mrs. Rouvier, and at a state dinner by the minister of marine and Mrs. Thomson. Both entertainments were attended by French officials of high rank, and were of a character to show that extreme compliment was intended. At the first, with the exception of the hostess, only gentlemen were present, while at the latter ladies were also present. After the luncheon with the prime minister on the 5th, the whole party was invited to visit the municipal council at the Hôtel de Ville, where we were received on behalf of the people of Paris. We were accompanied by Lieutenant André, ordnance officer of the minister of marine. We were received by M. Paul Brousse, president of the municipal council and of the general council; by M. Antrand, secretary-general of the prefecture of the Seine, and M. Laurent, secretary-general of the prefecture of police. Short addresses of welcome were made by the president of the municipal council, and by the secretary-general of the prefecture of the Seine, in behalf of his chief, the prefect of the Seine; also by the secretary-general of the prefecture of police, in the name of the prefect of police. Responses were made, first by Mr. Loomis, and then by myself. Champagne was then served, and M. Paul Brousse proposed the health of President Roosevelt, and Mr. Loomis proposed the health of President Loubet. Following this entertainment, we were escorted by the various

French gentlemen through the Hôtel de Ville, after which we returned to our quarters.

On the 6th, the day of the formal transfer of the remains of John Paul Jones at Paris, the landing parties of the various ships were roused out at about 2 a. m. They took the train for Paris at Cherbourg at 3.30 a. m. They arrived at the station at Paris at 11.40 a. m., where the party was met by French officials. As to this and subsequent events connected with the landing party at the transfer, and especially as giving the names of the French officers and officials concerned, I invite attention to Inclosure C[a] of this second report, which inclosure was obtained for me by the American naval attaché at my request. This memorandum, together with my further report, will serve to show the magnitude and splendor of our reception at Paris in honor of the United States and of the purposes of the expedition.

On the 6th the ceremony of transferring the remains of John Paul Jones took place at 3.30 p. m., at the American Church of the Holy Trinity, at the avenue de l'Alma, where the casket containing the remains of John Paul Jones were lying in state, decorated with drapery, and with a profusion of floral emblems. Admission to the church was by special invitation and a presentation of cards at the door. Many could not find entrance. The American sailors and French soldiers were formed outside of the church, where an artillery caisson, ornamented with drapery and French and American flags, was also in waiting. As to the character of the French escort of troops and the officers commanding, Inclosure C of this report, already cited, gives adequate information. On the right of the central aisle and next the chancel and facing the chancel were the American representatives; on the left were the French representatives. Virtually the whole diplomatic corps was present, with Ambassador and Mrs. McCormick, General Porter, Mr. Loomis, United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and myself on the front seat. There were also present General Dubois, representing the President of France; M. Rouvier, president of the council of ministers and minister of foreign affairs; M. Berteaux, minister of war; M. Gaston Thomson, minister of marine; M. Clémentel, minister for the colonies; General Brugére, vice-president of the superior council of war; Vice-Admiral Fournier, French navy, member of the superior council of the navy, etc.

A memorial service was conducted by the Rev. John B. Morgan, assisted by the Rev. M. Van Winkle, M. Mesny, and Doctor Tully. The services are described in more detail in Inclosure C. At the close of the church services Gen. Horace Porter made a short address,[b] transferring the remains to the second special ambassador, Mr. Loomis. Mr.

[a] Inclosures A and B omitted. For Inclosures C, D, E, and F, see Appendix.—Compiler.

[b] See p. 73.

Loomis then read an address of considerable length, ending by transferring the remains formally to my charge. A copy of Mr. Loomis's address is hereto appended, marked "Inclosure D." Thereupon I read a short address, accepting the custody of the remains on behalf of the United States Navy Department and taking over further responsibility. A copy is appended, marked "Inclosure E." This ended the ceremony within the church.

I had previously detailed as body bearers four petty officers from each ship of my command, each over 6 feet in stature. The body bearers placed the casket on a wheeled truck, conducted it to the street and there placed it on the caisson. The procession was then formed. With the exception of the artillery and cavalry, all were on foot; that is to say, there were no carriages. The absence of carriages was intended as an additional mark of respect and courtesy. Even a few ladies, presumably the wives of dignitaries, were in the procession. There were no French sailors present. Therefore our blue jackets were put in comparison with the flower of the French soldiery, and, as we always find, our men looked businesslike and bore themselves thoroughly well, although they had no opportunity to land at Cherbourg and have preliminary drills for the occasion. Moreover, they had landed from coaling ship, and had been almost without sleep, and with but scant opportunity to prepare themselves immediately for the occasion. Many photographs have been taken of the procession. All show creditable performance on the part of the American blue jackets. The procession proceeded along the avenue de l'Alma and the avenue des Champs Elysées, thence through the Champs Elysées, across the Pont Alexandre III, through the Esplanade des Invalides to the Rue de Constantine, where, opposite the Hôtel des Invalides, in which the remains of Napoléon I repose, a highly decorated pavilion had been erected. In the central front of the pavilion was a bier. The casket was removed from the caisson by the American body bearers and placed on the bier. Distinguished civilians and officers, French and American, took position in front of the pavilion, after which the whole military and naval procession marched past, the American sailors leading and followed by the French infantry, artillery, and cavalry, in the order named, the officers saluting as they passed the pavilion. The cavalry went past on the trot. It was a most beautiful and impressive sight, the most distinguished, I was informed by M. Rouvier, that had been seen in Paris of recent years. After the march past, the French civilians and French officers took leave of the Americans at the pavilion, with much kindly exchange of sentiment and good will. Then the casket was replaced on the caisson by the American body bearers and escorted to the railroad station, only a few yards distant, where the casket was again taken from the caisson and conveyed to the car in waiting. The car was locked

and sealed. A guard of American sailors was placed over the car, after which the American officers dispersed and proceeded to their quarters, and the blue jackets were marched again to the École Militaire, where they were again most courteously received and provided with dinner. The officers accompanying the landing party were provided with meals at the Cercle Militaire.

At 9.10 p. m. the landing party of bluejackets left Paris in the same train with the remains of John Paul Jones. They arrived at Cherbourg the following morning. At Cherbourg a pavilion had been prepared and ornamented on the large commercial quay. Therein the remains of John Paul Jones were deposited, under a continuous guard of sixteen French sailors and sixteen American sailors, to await further ceremonies, all arrangements having been made by Vice-Admiral Besson, Rear-Admiral Leygue, and the Mayor of Cherbourg, with the assistance of interested and sympathizing citizens, and the chef de gare. I remained behind, at Paris, with Mr. Loomis and my full staff of officers. That evening, the 6th, our whole party was entertained at a great dinner, in conjunction with a distinguished party of French people, at the American embassy, by Ambassador and Mrs. McCormick. On the 7th the whole party, together with the American ambassador and General Porter, lunched with President Loubet. The entertainment was of the same magnificent order as those which had been given by French officials. Ladies, as well as gentlemen, were present. After the luncheon, we took final leave of President Loubet and the members of his ministry, and others. That night I dined with Mr. Loomis and some mutual friends, and I left before the dinner was ended for the railroad station. The naval officers left for Cherbourg at 9.10 p. m., on the 7th. Mr. Loomis accompanied me to my carriage, and I think we were mutually gratified that every event had passed off without error worthy of mention, although we had been pressed to carry out all details precisely in the short period of time allowed us.

General Porter had gone to Cherbourg on the 6th [7th]. In advance, I sent orders to the senior American naval officer present at Cherbourg to meet General Porter at the train, escort him to his steamer and give him the salute for an ambassador, and to show him all honors. I am informed that my instructions were carried out and were appreciated by General Porter. I had taken it upon myself to urge General Porter to return to the United States on board the *Brooklyn*, as my guest. General Porter, while expressing much pleasure at receiving the invitation, felt obliged to decline, to my great disappointment. I also invited Mr. Loomis to return to the United States on board the *Brooklyn*. Mr. Loomis also expressed his appreciation of my wish to take him as my guest, and explained that he was obliged to remain for some time longer in Europe.

The party of American officers arrived back at Cherbourg at 6 a. m. on the morning of the 8th. At 1 o'clock on the 8th I sent a landing party ashore, under arms, where there were also assembled French soldiers and sailors, under arms, at the pavilion on the commercial quay. The quay, all along its great length, was decorated with French and American flags in alternation. Alongside the quay was the French torpedo-boat *Zouave*. On the quay, and within the highly decorated pavilion, was the casket containing the remains of John Paul Jones. French and American flags were everywhere, and the *Zouave* was also specially prepared and dressed. At 1.30 p. m. I proceeded to the shore, where I met Vice-Admiral Besson and Rear-Admiral Leygue, with whom all arrangements had been made previously. The soldiers and sailors were drawn up in line near the pavilion, where the French and American officers were assembled. Vice-Admiral Besson then read a short address, a copy of which I append, marked "Inclosure F." I had intended to reply extemporaneously in the event that Admiral Besson made an address, but the admiral immediately gave the order to proceed with the ceremonies, so I withheld my response and contented myself with shaking hands with Admiral Besson and thanking him and his assistants for the many courtesies that we had received, especially for those under his immediate direction. I think the admiral was prompted by a desire to expedite the ceremonies in order to facilitate the close of my business affairs within the short period of time remaining to me.

The casket was then carried to the *Zouave* by the American body bearers. The *Zouave* cast off from the quay and moved out slowly into the harbor. A column of French pulling boats formed on the port quarter of the *Zouave* and a column of American pulling boats on the starboard quarter of the *Zouave*. Each column was led by the barges of the admirals of the respective nationalities. The landing party left the quay later and proceeded to their ships. In the order stated, the *Zouave* proceeded slowly to the *Brooklyn*. It was a very beautiful and impressive sight. The quay was thronged with people and great interest was shown. The *Zouave* went alongside the starboard side of the *Brooklyn*. The rails of the various ships were manned, and all flags were at half-mast. When the *Zouave* left the quay, the flagship of Rear-Admiral Leygue began a salute of 15 minute guns. That number of guns was fired at my instance, because Mr. Loomis in his address had named John Paul Jones as vice-admiral. The French salute at Paris had corresponded with that rank. When the French flagship *Bouvines* had finished her salute, and after a short interval, the *Brooklyn* also fired a salute of 15 minute guns. The French officers from the procession of boats came on board the *Brooklyn* over the port side. The casket was hoisted on board, prayers were read by Chaplain Bayard, of the *Brooklyn*,

and the casket was then lowered to the gun deck and deposited on the bier and under the canopy erected immediately outside of the entrance to the flag cabin.

With fine tact, Admiral Besson and the French officers declined to proceed to my cabin, Admiral Besson stating that he knew the pressure upon me to close my business and get to sea at the time stated. After much exchange of courtesy on the part of the French officers—civil, military, and naval—the French party took their leave. Near by was a French steamer, with passengers. Among the passengers was Admiral Besson's daughter, who had interested herself deeply in the ceremonies and had presented a floral emblem and had also arranged the flowers with her own hands on the casket of John Paul Jones.

Before proceeding further, I should state that while I was absent at Paris on the 4th of July Vice-Admiral Besson gave a garden party at the arsenal to the officers of the squadron. This was largely attended by civil, military, and naval officers and their families. One hundred and twenty of the enlisted men were entertained at a banquet and by a visit to the exposition by the mayor of Cherbourg. The warrant and chief petty officers of the French army and navy, through a committee, entertained at lunch the American warrant and chief petty officers of the squadron, and the enlisted men of the French army and navy entertained the enlisted men of the fleet at luncheon.

On the Fourth of July the public buildings were decorated with French and American flags. The landing and esplanade were profusely decorated with French and American flags alternating. There was a brilliant electric illumination of the French and American ships, and a water carnival at night in honor of the American squadron.

On the 6th instant Rear-Admiral Leygue entertained the senior officer and one other officer from each of the American ships at luncheon. On the evening of the same day the senior officers of the American ships were entertained at dinner by Colonel de Grandprey, directeur de génie.

On the 7th the wardroom officers of the *Bouvines* entertained the wardroom officers of the *Brooklyn*.

Our consular agent, M. Henri Haineville, was unremitting in his efforts to assist in every way.

By the courtesy of M. Le Pont, the chapel where the body of John Paul Jones rested until it was transferred to the ship was constructed in his own building on the quay. Captains d'Andrezelle and Collard, of Vice-Admiral Besson's staff, gave much time and attention to perfecting times and arrangements on shore, while Admiral Leygue and his aid were equally assiduous in arranging for those afloat. The chef de la gare at Cherbourg was conspicuously zealous in respect to all matters connected with the railroad and the transportation of the remains. Captain d'Abeville, director of the port, visited the *Brooklyn* and offered

us the facilities of water lighters, etc. Through his good offices the squadron was furnished with all the water required. In celebrating the Fourth of July all the French officers—civil, military, and naval—left nothing undone to show their hearty good will. Owing to the limited stay of the squadron in port, together with the preparations for sea and the absence of officers and men, it was impossible to return the courtesies extended to the squadron excepting by verbal expression. A projected entertainment on board the *Brooklyn* was made impracticable by reason of the requirements of the Navy Department in connection with the death of Mr. Hay. Our limitations were thoroughly understood by the French authorities; but, nevertheless, it was a great regret to ourselves.

At 5.30 p. m. on the 8th our squadron put to sea. When passing the division of French ships we manned the side and gave three hearty cheers, which were returned. I then repeated our national salute to the French flag, which was returned by the *Bouvines*. When we were in the offing the French fleet put to sea also and shaped its course for Brest.

I close this part of my report by informing the Department that late on the afternoon of the 7th a representative of President Loubet arrived at my hotel and presented to me, and to the four commanding officers of my ships, and to Lieutentant-Commander George, who commanded the landing party at Paris, the cross of the Legion of Honor. To me the President presented the cross of commander of the Legion of Honor and to the others the cross of officer of the Legion of Honor. Mr. Loomis had been presented with the cross of the Legion of Honor on a former visit to Paris. I accepted the decorations provisionally, and as tactfully as possible, and later will bring the matter formally and individually, before the Navy Department.

Our reception in France was a most notable one, by reason of its completeness and scope, as well as by its magnificence. It was the evident intention to strengthen the cordial relations between France and the United States by taking advantage of incidents in our joint history, namely, the French-American exploits of John Paul Jones. It is gratifying to me personally, as commander in chief of the naval expedition, that all events passed off with credit for the American side. I am informed that this is the only occasion when a large body of foreign armed men has been permitted to parade in the streets of Paris in time of peace—that is to say, when not active allies engaged in war.

PART III

My squadron took its departure from Cherbourg at 5.30 p. m. on the 8th of July. A speed of 11 knots was set. Later, in heavy seas, the speed was reduced to 10 knots. It was afterwards restored to 11 knots in order to take every advantage of smooth weather.

We had considerable misty and foggy weather. When south of Georges Bank, we were unable to get in communication with the shore by wireless because of atmospheric conditions, and at one time because of a defect in our wires. When about 30 or 40 miles from Nantucket light-ship we tried for a long time to get in communication with the light-ship, but there was very much interference by other vessels. However, I managed to get the following message to the Nantucket light-ship:

Report to Navy Department Paul Jones Squadron is off Nantucket light-ship and is due at Chesapeake entrance early forenoon of Saturday. No stops needed on passage. All well.

The Nantucket light-ship informed me that because of heavy interference they could not get my message through to Newport, but they promised to put it through later, as promptly as possible. We were up to the light-ship and sighted it at 8.30 p. m. on the 20th.

From Nantucket light-ship I shaped a straight course for a point 12 miles east of Cape Charles light-ship.

On the morning of the 21st we sighted the *Maine*, Rear-Admiral Evans's flagship, to the southward, and I was directed by Admiral Evans to form column on the *Maine*. This was done. Later one vessel after another of the first division of the North Atlantic Fleet joined, and the two divisions were formed into column, natural order, and proceeded on their course to Cape Henry. Late in the afternoon Rear-Admiral Davis joined with the second division of the North Atlantic Fleet. The second division joined the column astern of the third division; that is to say, the division under my command. I informed Admiral Evans of the nature of my orders, and that I was expected by the Navy Department to arrive at the capes early on the forenoon of the 22d, Saturday. The speed was set at 11 knots; distance, 300 yards.

There were eleven vessels in column, and in the following order:

First division—
Maine; flag of the commander in chief.
Missouri.
Kentucky.
Kearsarge.
Third division—
Brooklyn; flag of Rear-Admiral Sigsbee.
Galveston.
Tacoma.
Chattanooga.
Second division—
Alabama; flag of Rear-Admiral Davis.
Illinois.
Massachusetts.

I informed Admiral Evans, by signal, that I had been instructed by the Navy Department to communicate at Cape Henry, and asked him

if he would communicate for me. Admiral Evans replied that he would communicate and that any messages that I had to send should be sent through him. The *Iowa* joined us off Cape Henry.

Off the entrance to Chesapeake Bay the *Maine* took a pilot and the column entered the bay. Inside Cape Henry the first division, under Admiral Evans, left the column and directed me to proceed to Annapolis with the second and third divisions. Admiral Evans stopped his division, and as the *Brooklyn* passed at slow speed each vessel of the first division fired a salute of 15 minute guns. When the salute was completed, I re-formed my column, the second division leading, each division being in natural order. I directed Admiral Davis to lead and pilot up the bay, speed 10 knots, distance 300 yards. Admiral Evans's division proceeded to Hampton roads, and when my column was about 9 miles distant from Admiral Evans's column I half-masted the colors of my column, but, from the vessels of the third division only, hoisted the American national ensign at the fore and the French national ensign at the main.

Although during the whole expedition I had in my division the virtually untried *Galveston*, only recently commissioned, and the *Tacoma* and *Chattanooga*, also new vessels, we did not stop on the passage across nor on the return passage by reason of any defect of the engines or other mishap. I stopped the column once on the passage to Cherbourg, as already stated, to transfer some men from the *Tacoma* to the *Brooklyn*, and stopped once on reaching soundings southeast of Nantucket Shoals in order to get an up-and-down cast with the lead line and a sounding by wire and sounding tube, in order to compare the depth shown by the sounding tube with the actual depth shown by the line.

PART IV

On the afternoon of the 22d I formed the two divisions of vessels in double column, distance 400 yards, interval 500 yards, my division on the left and Rear-Admiral Davis's division on the right, and in this formation I anchored the squadron below Thomas Point light-house and out of sight of Annapolis, also distant from Annapolis about 7 miles, at 7 p. m. The next morning, at half past 8, the squadron was got under way, and we steamed to Annapolis roads in the same formation. There we anchored at 9 a. m. in the same formation. We found there the French cruiser, *Jurien de la Gravière*, Captain Gervais. In order to distinguish my vessels as composing the division connected with the John Paul Jones expedition I had each of them fly the American ensign at the fore and the French ensign at the main. Visits were received and made between the French cruiser and our own vessels.

The next morning, after arrangement with Rear-Admiral Sands, in which he most considerately provided that I should be in general

command of the cortége on shore, the body of John Paul Jones was landed, but without great ceremony on the water. At 9 o'clock the *Standish* came alongside the *Brooklyn*. The casket was placed on board, and I myself, with an escort of officers, went on board the *Standish*. The landing party, which included Captain Gervais and a party of officers and 50 men from the *Jurien de la Gravière*, had previously been landed. The *Standish* then passed up between the two columns of United States vessels, while all the vessels fired simultaneously a salute of 15 minute guns. The *Standish* then proceeded to the shore, where all arrangements had been made. Commander Nicholson, of the *Tacoma*, acting under my direction, arranged the cortége, assisted by Lieutenant Magruder, the flag lieutenant of Rear-Admiral Sands. I inclose herewith a copy of a memorandum provided me by Rear-Admiral Sands, marked "Inclosure G."[a] It will serve to show his own admirable arrangements. Lieutenant-Commander George commanded the landing party from my vessels.

A temporary pavilion had been erected on the sea wall inside of the artificial basin. The casket was placed in a hearse and the cortége moved to the open ground in front of Blake row, where the different parties of men were disposed as provided for by Admiral Sands. In the center of the grassy space on which Blake row fronts a temporary and very appropriate brick vault had been erected. The casket was removed from the hearse and placed in the vault. The vault was then locked up and a company of marines fired three volleys, and a bugler sounded taps. I then thanked Admiral Sands and said that my duties were ended so far as I knew and subject only to any further orders he might have for me. Admiral Sands had no further orders to give me. The senior officers then proceeded to the residence of Rear-Admiral Sands, where luncheon was served. Other officers—and French officers were included in both cases—were entertained at the officers' mess.

After thanking Admiral Davis for his services I informed him that he was free to rejoin the flag of the commander in chief at Hampton roads. We then returned to our ships in Annapolis roads. Admiral Davis got his division under way at 1.30 p. m. on the 24th, the day of the ceremonies, and proceeded to Hampton roads.

That evening I entertained the captain and a delegation of officers from the *Jurien de la Gravière* at dinner on board my flagship. They returned to their ship at 10.45 p. m. At 11.15 p. m. I got the third division under way and proceeded down the bay for Tompkinsville. We passed out of the bay at about 9 a. m., and soon thereafter set a speed of 11 knots for the third division.

Perhaps I should mention that on the casket of John Paul Jones, when it was landed at Annapolis, I placed his sword, lent me for that purpose

[a] Not printed.—COMPILER.

by Commander Nicholson, of the *Tacoma*. The sword had been passed down through various channels until it finally reached Commander Nicholson's father, Commodore Nicholson, U. S. Navy, by whom it was passed down to Commander Nicholson himself.

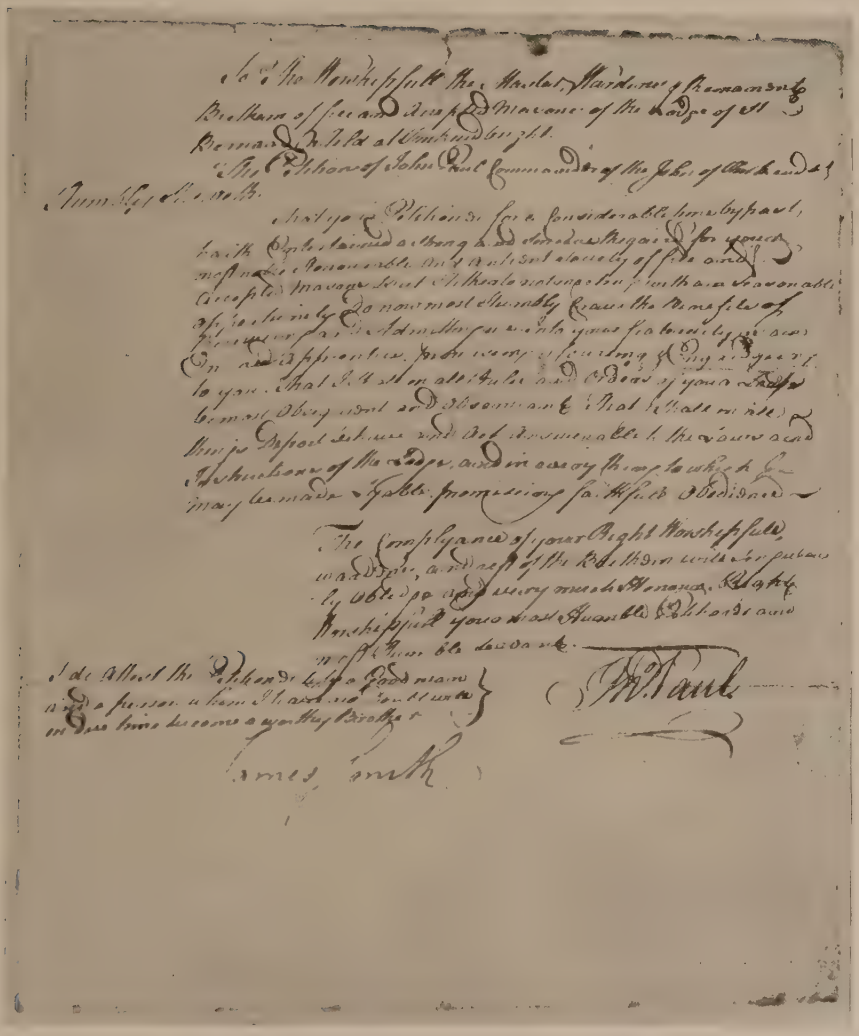
I beg to state that, notwithstanding various difficulties presented themselves from time to time during the expedition, all events passed off with great smoothness and harmony. Officers and men bore themselves with high credit to the service.

The third division anchored at Tompkinsville at 11.45 a. m. July 26.

Very respectfully,

C. D. SIGSBEE,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy, Commander in Chief.

The SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
Navy Department, Washington, D. C.



PETITION OF JOHN PAUL FOR ADMISSION AS A MASON.

FACSIMILE.

(Scale, two-thirds of original.)

III. LETTERS OF JOHN PAUL JONES

PETITION FOR ADMISSION AS A MASON[a]

[From the original at St. Mary's Isle.]

To the Worshipfull, the Master, Wardens & Permanent Brethren of free and accepted Masons of the Lodge of St. Bernard held at Kirkcudbright.

The Petition of John Paul, Commander of the *John*, of Kirkendal, Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner, for a considerable time by-past, haith entertained a strong and sincere Regaird for your most noble, Honourable, and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons, but Hitherto not meeting with reasonable opportunity Do now most Humbly crave the benefit of Receiving and Admitting me Into your fraternity as an Entered apprentice, promising, assuring and engaidging to you That I shall on all Rules and Orders of your Lodge be most obsequient and observant. That I shall in all things Deport, behave, and act answerable to the Laws and Instructions of the Lodge, and in every thing to which I may be made lyable, promising faithful obedience.

The complyance of your Right Worshipfull Wardens and rest of the Brethren will singularly oblidge and very much Honour, Right Worshipfull, your most Humble Petitioner and most Humble servant.

JNO. PAUL.

I do attest the Petitioner to be a good man and a person whom I have no doubt will in due time become a worthy Brother.

JAMES SMITH.

[a] This paper is not dated. It appears in the appended chronology that John Paul commanded the *John* in 1770 and that he was entered as a Mason at Kirkcudbright November 27, 1770.—COMPILER.

LETTER TO JOSEPH HEWES

[From autograph draft in the Library of Congress.]

[ALFRED, *New London, April 14, 1776.*]

When I undertook to write you an account of our proceedings in the Fleet I did not imagine that I should have been so stinted in point of time—I owed you a much earlier account but since our arrival here the repairs and Business of the ship has required my Constant attention—I will endeavour to be more punctual hereafter—in the meanwhile hope you will excuse this omission 'till I can account for it personally. I pass over what was prior to our arrival at the Capes of Delaware—where we were met by the *Hornet* sloop & *Wasp* schooner from Maryland. On the 17th of Feby the Fleet put to sea with a smart North East Wind, In the Night of the nineteenth (the Gale having Increased) we lost Company with the *Hornet* and *Fly* Tender. We steered to the Southward without seeing a single sail or meeting with anything remarkable 'till the first of March, when we anchored at Abaco (one of the Bahamia Islands) having previously brought too a Couple of New Providence sloops to take pilots out of them. By these people we were informed that there was a large Quantity of Powder with a Number of Cannon in the two Forts of New Providence. In Consequence of this Intelligence the Marines and Landsmen to the number of 300 and upwards under the comm^{d} of Capt^{n} Nicholas were embarked in the two sloops. It was determined that they should keep below Deck 'till the sloops were got in Close to the Fort—and they were then to land Instantly & take possession before the Island could be alarmed. This, however, was rendered abortive, as the Forts Fired an alarm on the approach of our Fleet. We then ran in and anchored at a small Key 3 leagues to windward of the Town and from thence the Commodore dispatched the marines with the sloop *Providence* and schooner *Wasp* to Cover their Landing. They landed without opposition and soon took possession of the Eastern Garrison Ft. Montague which (after Firing a few shot) the Islanders abandoned. The Next morning the Marines marched for the Town and were met by a messenger from the Gov^{r} who told Capt^{n} Nicholas that "the western Garrison (Ft. Nassau) was ready for his reception and that he might march his Force in as soon as he pleased." This was effected without firing a gun on our Side—but the Gov^{r} had sent off 150 barrels of Powder the Night before. Inclosed you have an Inventory of the Cannon, stores &c which we found, took

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Possession of, and brought off in the Fleet. We Continued at N. Providence till 17th ulto and then bro't off the Govr and two more Gentn Prisoners. Our Course was now directed back for the Continent and after meeting with much bad weather on the 5th Inst off Block Island we took one of Capt. Wallace's Tenders the *Hawke* schooner of 6 guns—and the Bomb Brig *Bolton* of 8 guns & 2 Howitzers &c the Next mornG we fell in with the *Glasgow* man of war and a Hot Engagement Ensued—the particulars of which I cannot communicate better than by extracting the minutes which I entered in the *Alfred's* Log Book as Follows—

At 2 A. M. cleared ship for Action. At ½ past do. the *Cabot* being between us and the Enemy, began to Engage and soon after we did the same, and maintained the Action 5 Glasses; at the third Glass the enemy bore away, and by crowding sail at length got a considerable way ahead made Signals for the rest of ye English Fleet at Rhoad Island to come to her Assistance & steered directly for the Harbour. The Commodore then thought it Imprudent to Risque our Prizes &c by Pursuing further therefore to Prevent our being decoyed into their hands at ½ past 6 made the signal to leave off Chace & hauld by the Wind to Join our Prizes. The *Cabott*, Capt. Jno. Hopkins, was Disabled at the 2d broadside. The Capt being dangerously Wounded; the Mate and several Men killed—the Enemy's whole Fire was then directed at us and an unlucky shot having carried away our Wheel Block & Ropes, the Ship broached too and this gave the Enemy opportunity of Raking us with several Broadsides before we were again in Condition to steer the Ship and Return the Fire. In the Action we Received several shot under Water which made the Ship very Leaky. We had besides the Mainmast shot thro' and the Upperworks and Rigging very considerably damaged. Yett it is surprising that we only lost the 2d Lieut of Marines & 4 Men, one of whom, a Midshipman Prisoner ("Martin Gillinwater") who was in the Cockpitt and had been taken in the Bomb Brig *Bolton* Yesterday. We had no more than three men dangerously & 4 slightly wounded.

I leave you to make the natural comments arising from this.

I have the pleasure of assuring you that the Commr in Chief is respected thro' the Fleet, and I verily believe that the officers and men in general would go any length to execute his orders. It is with pain that I Confine this plaudit to an individual—I should be happy in extending it to every *Captain* and officer in the service—Praise is certainly due to some—but alas! there are Exceptions: it is certainly for the Interest of the service that a cordial interchange of civilities should subsist between Superiour and Inferiour Officers—and therefore it is bad policy in Superiours to behave towards their inferiours indiscriminately as tho' they were of a lower species. Men of liberal Minds who have been long accustomed to Command, can ill brook being thus set at nought by

others who pretend to Claim the monopoly of com. sense.—the rude ungentle treatment which they experience creates such heartburnings as are no wise consonant with, that cheerful ardour and spirit which ought ever to be the characteristick of an Officer, and therefore whoever thinks himself hearty in the service is widely mistaken when he adopts such a line of conduct in order to prove it—for to be well obeyed it is necessary to be esteemed. The Fleet having been reinforced with 200 men lent from the Army is now in condition for another Enterprize and we expect to embrace the first wind for Rhode Island when I hope we shall meet with better success as we understand that the *Scarborough* is now there—it is Proposed to clear the Ships at Rhode Island or Providence so that our detention there will admit of a return of letters from Philadelphia—meantime with a grateful sense of past favors I have the honor to be with much Esteem

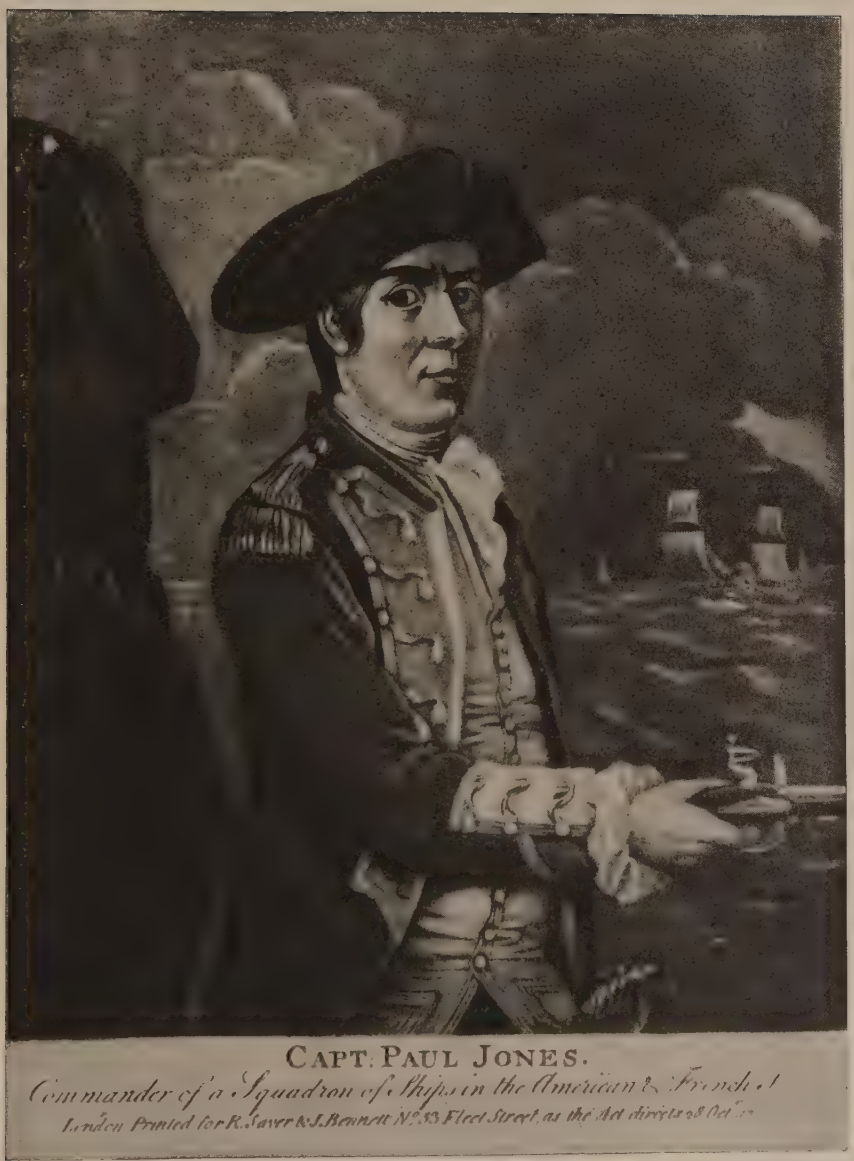
Sir Your very obliged most humble servant,

[Jno. P. Jones.]

[Endorsements.]

B. *Alfred*, New London, J. H[ewes] 14th April 1776.
C. LV. Memorandum of the Engagement with the *Glasgow*.
In pencil: "No. 1 The *Glasgow*."

Jones.


CAPT. PAUL JONES.
Commander of a Squadron of Ships in the American & French
London Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett N°. 53 Fleet Street, as the Act directs 28 Oct

From original in British Museum.

LETTER TO ROBERT MORRIS

[From autograph draft in the Library of Congress.]

PROVIDENCE, *at Sea 4th Sept^r*, 1776.

HONOURED SIR. I herewith inclose for your inspection all the letters and papers which I found in the Brigantine *Sea Nymph*—for the particulars of my Cruise hitherto I must beg leave to refer you to the within open letter to the Marine Board which please to lay before them. I purpose to stand to the southward in hopes of falling in with some ships which I understand are now on their Passage from Barbados—but at this late season my success is very uncertain—I will, however, ply about in this meridian as long as I think I have any chance and if I fail at last I can run to the northward and try for better success among the Fishermen which may answer no bad purpose by increasing the Number of our seamen—however my cruise may terminate. I forgot not the singular obligation I wrote to Mr. Morris who promoted it for my honor and advantage and I esteem the Honour done me by his accepting my Correspondence as the greatest favour I could have aspired to. I conclude that Mr. Hewes hath acquainted you with a very great misfortune which befel me some years ago and which brought me into No. America, the best man may soon become equally or far more unfortunate, therefore you will spare me the pain of repeating it here. I am under no concern whatever that this or any past circumstance of my life will sink me in your opinion since human wisdom cannot secure us from accidents it is the greatest effort of Reason to bear them well. I will from time to time carefully communicate to you every intelligence in my Power—and now "as the regulations of the Navy" are of the utmost Consequence you will not think it presumptious if with the utmost diffidence I venture to communicate to you such hints as in my judgment will promote its Honour and good Government—I could heartily wish that every Commission Officer were to be previously examined—for, to my certain knowledge there are persons who have already crept into Commission—without abilities or fit Qualification: I am myself far from deserving to be excused,—from my experience in Ours as well as from my former intimacy with many officers of note in the British Navy, I am convinced that the Parity of Rank between sea and land or marine officers, is of more consequence to the harmony of the service than hath generally been imagined, in the British Establishment—an Admiral ranks with a Genl., a Vice Adml. with a Lieut. Genl., a Rear Admiral with a Major Genl., a Commodore with a Brigadier Genl., a Captain with a Colonel, a Master & Comdr with a Lieut. Colonel, a Lieut. Commanding with a Major, and a Lieutenant in the Navy ranks with a

Captain of Horse, Foot or Marines. I propose not our Enemies as an example for our Genl imitation, yet as their navy is the best regulated of any in the world we must in some degree imitate them and aim at such further improvement as may one day make ours Vie with and Exceed theirs. Were this Regulation to take place in our Navy it would prevent numberless disputes and duellings which otherwise will be unavoidable besides Sir you know very well that marine officers being utterly unacquainted with Maratime affairs and in those cases unfit persons to preside at or Compose half the member of a Court Martial. I beg pardon for this liberty. I thought that such hints might escape your memory in the Multiplicity of business. I have always understood that the sentence of a Court Martial when confirmed by a Commander in Chief is definitive and admitted of no appeal—So from this I must again recur to English authority in the Case of Lord George G. Sackville who for disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand at the Battle of Minden was by a Court Martial held at the Horse Guards rendered incapable of serving afterwards in any Military capacity although his great abilities were then well known and are generally acknowledged at this day. I am led into this subject by hearing with astonishment the application and complaint of the late Capt^{n} Hazard to the Marine Board after he had been found "unworthy of Bearing his Commission in the Navy," by the undivided voice of a Court Martial where I had the honor to sit as a Member. If he was then *unworthy* of bearing his Commission I cannot see what new merit he can have acquired and even if he had merit it would not be sound policy to reverse the sentence. It would make officers stand less in awe and attend less punctually to their duty and it is not impossible that it might induce future court martials in some cases to inflict personal punishment from whence there is no appeal.

There was a mistake made in the date of my Commission which unless you stand my friend will make a material difference when the Navy Rank is settled—I took command here the tenth day of May as appears by the order and appointment of the Comr. in Chief on the Back of my Commission as Eldest lieutenant of the Fleet. and my Commission as Captain is not dated 'till the 8th day of August which you know is not fair as it would subject me to be superseded by Captain Roberson [Robinson] who was at first my junior officer by six—perhaps it might subject me to be superseded by others. If I have deserved so ill as to be superseded I am unworthy of bearing my Commission. I esteem it a greater disgrace and severer punishment than to be fairly broke and dismissed the service. I have ordered Mr Hopkins the prize master to deliver to you a Turtle which please to accept. I have the honor to be with Greatful Esteem and much respect,

Honoured Sir your very obliged and very Obedient Humble Servt.

J. P. J.

The Honl. Robt. Morris, Esq.

Madam

Ranger Brest 8th May 1778.

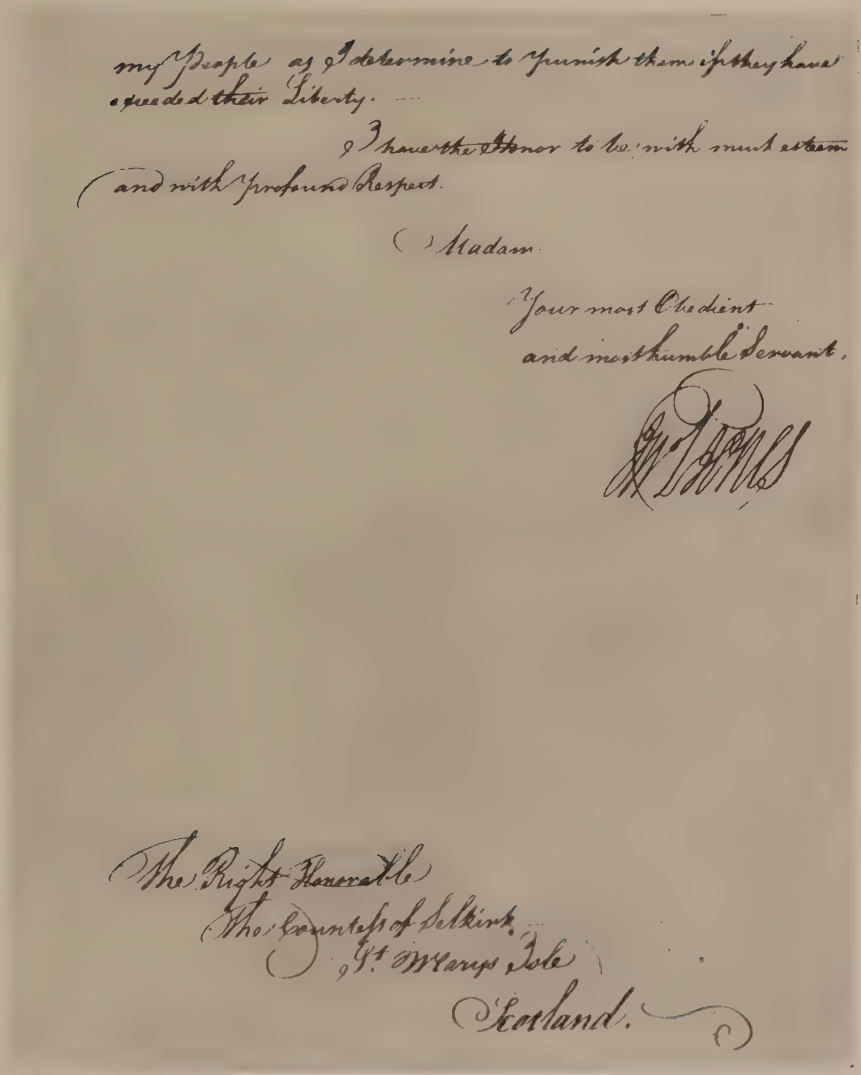
It cannot be too much lamented that in the profession of Arms the Officer of honour and of real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any Action of persons under his command which his Heart cannot approve: but the reflection is doubly severe when he finds himself obliged in appearance to countenance such Action by his Authority.

This hard case was mine when on the 2d of April last I landed on St Marys Isle. Knowing Lord S. thinks in vest with Knighting, and esteeming as I do, his private Character, I wished to make him the happy Instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity to the brave are overpowered and made Prisoners of War. It was fortunate for me Madam that the weather was such, for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger and to have detained him until Thro' means of a cartel and fair exchange of Prisoners, as well in Europe as in America had been effected.

When I was informed by some Men whom I met at landing that his Lordship was absent I walked back to my Boat determining to leave the Island: by the way however, some Officers who were with me feigned not to hear of proposing their discontent; observing that in America no delicacy was shewn by the English; who took away all sorts of movable property, selling Negroes not

FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF LETTER TO COUNTESS OF SELKIRK.

(Scale, two-thirds of original.)


my People as I determine to punish them if they have
exceeded their Liberty. —

I have the Honor to be with much esteem
and with profound Respect.

Madam

Your most Obedient
and most humble Servant.

The Right Honorable
The Countess of Selkirk.
St Mary's Isle
Scotland.

FACSIMILE OF LAST PAGE OF LETTER TO COUNTESS OF SELKIRK.

(Scale, two-thirds of original.)

LETTER TO THE COUNTESS OF SELKIRK

[From the original at St. Mary's Isle.]

RANGER. BREST, *8th May, 1778.*

MADAM. It cannot be too much lamented that in the profession of arms, the Officer of fine feelings, and of real Sensibility, should be under the necessity of winking at any Action of Persons under his command which his heart can not approve:—but the reflection is doubly severe when he finds himself obliged in appearance to countenance such Action by his Authority.

This hard case was mine, when on the 23rd of April last I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's intrest with his King, and esteeming *as I do* his private Character, I wished to make him the happy Instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made Prisoners of War. It was perhaps fortunate for you, Madam, that he was from home, for it was my intention to have taken him on board the *Ranger*, and to have detained him until thro' his means, a general and fair Exchange of Prisoners as well in Europe as in America had been effected. When I was informed by some men whom I met at landing, that his Lordship was absent, I walked back to my Boat, determining to leave the Island: by the way however, some Officers who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing that in America no delicacy was shewn by the English, who took away all sorts of movable property, setting Fire not only to Towns and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and Milch cows of the poor and helpless at the approach of an inclement Winter. That party had been with me as Volunteers the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance therefore, was their due:—I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your Ladyship the least Injury. I charged the Two Officers to permit none of the Seamen to enter the House, or to hurt any thing about it. To treat you Madam, with the utmost Respect, to accept of the plate which was offered, and to come away without making a search or demanding anything else. I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed; since I am informed that the Plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it, I have gratified my Men; and when the Plate is sold, I shall become the Purchaser, and will *gratify my own feelings* by restoring it to you, by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

Had the Earl been on board the *Ranger* the following Evening, he would have seen the awful Pomp and dreadful Carnage of a Sea Engagement: both affording ample subject for the Pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back from such Scenes of Horror, and cannot but execrate the Vile Promotors of this detested War.

> For *They*, t'was THEY unsheath'd the ruthless blade,
> And Heav'n shall ask the Havock it has made.

The British Ship of War *Drake*, mounting 20 guns, with more than her full compliment of Officers and Men, besides a number of Volunteers, came out from Carrackfergus, in order to attack and take the American Continental Ship of War *Ranger*, of 18 Guns, and short of her compliment of Officers and Men. The Ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great Fortitude on each side for an Hour and Five minutes, when the Gallant Commander of the *Drake* fell, and Victory declared in favour of the *Ranger*. His aimiable Lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near Forty of the inferior Officers and Crew killed and wounded. A melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects; and of the sad reverse of Fortune which an Hour can produce. I buryed them in a spacious Grave, with the Honors due to the Memory of the Brave.

Tho' I have drawn my Sword in the present generous Struggle for the rights of Men, yet I am not in Arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of Riches. My Fortune is liberal enough, having no Wife nor Family, and having lived long enough to Know that Riches cannot insure Happiness. I profess myself a Citizen of the World, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of Climate or of Country, which diminish the benevolence of the Heart and set bounds to Philantropy. Before this War began, I had, at an early time of Life, withdrawn from the Sea service, in favour of "calm contemplation and Poetic ease," I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of Life, but *the softer Affections of the Heart*, and my Prospects of Domestic Happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my Life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore Peace and good will among Mankind.

As the feelings of your gentle Bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you Madam, to use your soft persuasive Arts with your Husband, to endeavour to stop this Cruel and destructive War, in which Britain never can succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly Practices of the Britons in America, which Savages would blush at, and which if not discontinued will soon be retaliated in Britain by a justly enraged People. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded that you will attempt it; and who can resist the power of such an Advocate?) Your endeavours to effect a general Exchange of Prisoners, will be an Act of Humanity, which will afford you Golden Feelings on a Death bed.

I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no War with the Fair. I acknowledge their Power, and bend before it with profound Submission; let not therefore the Aimable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an Enemy; I am ambitious of her Esteem and Friendship, and would do anything consistent with my duty to merit it.

The honor of a Line from your hand in answer to this will lay me under a very singular Obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France, or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of reserve.

I wish to know exactly the behaviour of my People, as I determine to punish them if they have exceeded their Liberty.

I have the Honor to be with much esteem and with profound Respect, Madam.

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

JNO. P. JONES.

LETTER FROM LORD SELKIRK[a]

[From the original at St. Mary's Isle.]

Monsieur J. P. JONES,

Capitaine du Vaisseau Americain, Le Ranger, à Brest.

DUMFRIES, *June 9th, 1778.*

SIR. The letter you wrote to Lady Selkirk of the 8th of May from Brest, and enclosed to Lord Le Despencer, he was so good as to forward, and it came to hand t'other day, as also it's duplicate by common post. It was matter of surprise both to my Wife and to me, as no apology was expected for your landing from your Privateer at St. Mary's Isle on the 23rd of April, but as the letter is polite, and you seem very anxious for an answer, I shall therefore transmit this unsealed to Lord Le Despencer, who, as I have the honour to be well acquainted with him, will I hope excuse my giving him this trouble, and his Lordship, as Post Master General will judge whether or not it is proper to be forwarded to you, as a letter by common post would certainly be stopped at the London Office. Your lamenting the necessity of these things in the Profession of Arms, and of being obliged to gratify your Officers by permitting them to go to my house, and carry off some plate, and your expressing the great sensibility of your feelings at what your heart cannot approve, are things which we, who have no knowledge of you, nor your character but by report, can form no proper judgement of, but must leave to your own Conscience, and to the Almighty Judge of the real motives of all actions. You certainly are in the right, Sir, in saying that it was fortunate for Lady Selkirk, that I was from home, as you intended to carry me off and detain me prisoner, for had that happened, I dread what might have been its effect on my Wife, then well advanced in her pregnancy. I own I do not understand how a man of *Sensibility to fine feelings* could reconcile this to what his heart approved, especially as the carrying me off could have no possible effect for the purpose you mention, which you say was, "knowing my interest with the King, your intention was to detain me, until through my means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America had been effected," Now Sir nothing can be more erroneous than these ideas, for I have no interest whatever with the King, and am scarce known to him, being very seldom in London, scarce six months in whole, during these last one and twenty years. With regard to the King's Ministers, I neither have nor can have any interest with them, as I have generally

[a] This letter was inclosed to Lord Despencer and by him returned to Lord Selkirk.—COMPILER.

disapproved of most of their measures, and in particular of almost their whole conduct in the unhappy and illjudged American War. And as to a general exchange of Prisoners being effected through my means, I am altogether at a loss how any man of sense could entertain such an Idea. I am neither a Military nor a Ministerial man. I neither have nor ever had a Ministerial Office, Imployment, or Pension, nor any connection with Administration, nor am I in Parliament, and except having the disadvantage of a useless Scotch Title, I am in all respects as much a Private Country Gentleman, as any one can be, living a retired life in the country, and engaging in no factions whatever. How then would it have been possible for such a man to effect a general exchange of Prisoners? when so many men of great Power and Influence in both Houses of Parliament have not been able to bring it about. You must therefore be sensible on reflection Sir, that you proceeded on a very improper and mistaken notion, and that had your attempt succeeded, it's only effect would have been to distress a family that never injured any person, and whose wishes have certainly been very friendly to the Constitutions and Just Liberties of America. You exclaim on the barbarities committed in America, and say they will be retaliated in Britain if not discontinued, I have always been extremely sorry at the accouuts of these things, no man can be a greater enemy to all ungenerous inhumanities in War than I am. God knows best which side began those things, and which has most to account for, but it is certainly the general opinion in Britain, that the Americans began the unusual and cruel practice complained of, and first against their own country men who adhered to the British Government. In your letter you profess yourself a Citizen of the World, and that you have drawn your Sword in support of the Rights of Man, yet you say you are not in arms as an American, nor in pursuit of Riches. If you are not in arms as an American, I do not understand in what character you act, and unless you have an American Commission, I doubt the Laws of War and of Nations would not be very favourable to you as a citizen of the World, which however ought to be a very honourable character, and you will do well to endeavour to act up to the humanity and honour of it. Consider then Sir, the impropriety and danger to the common Interests, and happiness of Society, in your departing from the established and usual practice of Modern War. Nothing does more honour to Mankind, than the generous humanity and mildness introduced in War of late ages, through all the best civilized parts of Europe, and it's violation is always disapproved of and generally resented by the Ministers of every State. I am therefore pursuaded that neither the French Government nor the Congress would have countenanced your carrying me off, nor would have permitted me to be detained. Their own coasts are as much exposed to such enterprises as our's, and they will not wish to introduce such things into the practice of War, as can have no effect

upon the great and general operations of it, but would only add to its calamities. It was certainly fortunate both for Lady Selkirk and me, that I was from home, and it was also fortunate for you Sir, that your Officers and Men behaved well, for had any of my family suffered outrage, murder or violence, no quarter of the Globe should have secured you nor even some of those under whose commission you act, from my vengeance. But Sir, I am happy that their welfare enables me to inform you, that the Orders you mention in your letter were punctually obeyed by your two Officers and Men, who in every respect behaved as well as could be expected on such an occasion. All the men remained on the outside of the house, were civil, and did no injury, the two officers alone came within, and behaved with civility, and we were all sorry to hear afterwards that the younger officer in green uniform was killed in your engagement with the Drake, for he in particular showed so much civility, and so apparent a dislike at the bussiness he was then on, that it is surprising how he should have been one of the proposers of it. What you mention is certainly so, that some of the Plate was left, but that was contrary to Lady Selkirk intention and to her orders, but happened partly by accident, confusion and hurry, and partly by the improper inclinations of some servants, for which they were severely reprimanded afterwards. So much was it countrary to Lady Selkirk's intentions, that she, having met a servant carrying some Plate out of the way, ordered it instantly to be taken back and given up, and indeed her giving the inventory along with it, tho' not asked for, proves that she meant it all to go, as the inventory would only serve to show, what she would not have inclined to be known, had she intended or believed any was left, and indeed had your Officers taken time to examine it, they would have got all, by means of the inventory, but the only thing they observed wanting was a tea pot and coffee pot, and on mentioning it, the servant immediately brought them. This circumstance however, proves also what I have pleasure in acknowledging, that your Officers obeyed your orders in making no search, for which Sir you are entitled to our thanks and I most willingly give them. Tho' you say nothing improper about what was left, nor can Lady Selkirk be thought at all accountable for it, yet she chuses these things to be mentioned, as she said to your Officers she believed it was all delivered, and she would be sorry if any person whatever should believe her capable of deceit. The little Plate that was left, will seem greater by the inventory than it was in reality, for the six candle sticks left, two are of a very small old fashioned kind, that belonged to Lady Selkirk's Grandmother, and are not one third of the weight of those now in fashion, the other two are little flat trifles, made exceeding small, for the purpose of standing in a cabinet for the purpose of sealing letters, the tea spoons and also some spoons of an inferior make, used at the housekeeper's table, by not

being keeped in the Butler's Pantry were forgot, together with some other very small things of little value, all the large things left were of the Birmingham plated kind. Your genteel offer Sir, of returning the Plate is very polite but at the same time neither Lady Selkirk nor I can think of accepting of it, as you must purchase it you say for that purpose, but if your delicacy makes you unwilling to keep that share of its value which as Captain you are entitled to, without purchasing, I would in that case wish that part to be given to those private men who were on the party, as an encouragement for their good behaviour. You Sir, are intitled to what is more honorable, viz: The Praise of having your men under good discipline, which on all occasions I take care to make known. There is one thing not so agreeable, as it must put me to considerable inconvenience, it seems the people you sent away from the *Ranger*, after taking the *Drake*, have reported, that you have said, "You were still determined to take me Prisoner, and would do so within a few months." As to my own personal danger, I have no apprehension about it, but Justice to my Wife and Children makes it necessary to remove myself and family to a more inland situation. Thus your illjudged and useless intention whilst it can do no good to you, nor be of any service to those in captivity, serves only to deprive my family and me of our country residence. Were there anything in my power for the procuring of an exchange of Prisoners, God knows I would most willingly do it, for I all along thought the refusing it both unjust and an impolitic measure, and which I still think will prove useless and will have to be departed from. Though your letter is wrote like a man who means well, and who wishes to be considered a man of honour, yet some people in this Country who say they know you, (tho' I do not think it certain you are the person they mean) laugh at your saying you are not in pursuit of Riches, and at your intention of taking me for the purpose of a general exchange of Prisoners. They say your design must have been a Ransom, and that your offer of returning the Plate is only a snare, to put me off my guard. But as I chanced to be entirely ignorant of you and your character, till your enterprise on the 23rd of April, I have therefore nothing certain to judge by but your behaviour, then, and since, and as that has in so far as regarded my Family, been genteel, and though your intention of taking me was certainly absurd, yet as it was so from mistake I therefore will not allow myself to think with those people, that a man who professes honorable sentiments, and is acting under an honorable commission for what he thinks is supporting the Rights of Mankind, would for the sake of a pitiful Ransom degrade himself to the low and vile character of a Barbary Pirate, which would be the case if these people were right in the opinion they give, but I chuse to judge more favourably of you, and am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SELKIRK.

LETTER FROM LORD SELKIRK

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RETURN OF SILVER

[From contemporary copy in Library of Congress.]

LONDON, *4th August, 1785.*

SIR. I received the letter you wrote to me, at the time you sent off my plate, in order for restoring it. Had I known where to direct a letter to you at the time it arrived in Scotland, I would have then wrote to you, but not knowing it, nor finding that any of my acquaintance at Edinburgh knew it, I was obliged to delay writing till I came here, when by means of a gentleman connected with America, I was told Mr Le Grand was your banker at Paris, and would take proper care of a letter for you, therefore I inclose this to him. Notwithstanding all the precautions you took for the easy and uninterrupted conveyance of the plate, yet it met with considerable delays, first at Calais, next at Dover, then at London. However it at last arrived at Dumfries, and I daresay quite safe, though as yet I have not seen it, being then at Edinburgh. I intended to have put an article in the newspapers about your having returned it, but before I was informed of its being arrived, some of your friends, I suppose, had put it in the Dumfries newspaper, whence it was immediately copied into the Edinburgh papers, and thence into the London ones. Since that time I have mentioned it to many people of fashion, and on all occasions, Sir, both now and formerly, I have done you the justice to tell, that you made an offer of returning the plate, very soon after your return to Brest, and although you, yourself was not at my house, but remaining at the shore with your boat, that yet you had your officers and men in such extraordinary good discipline, that you having given them the strictest orders to behave well, to do no injury of any kind, to make no search, but only to bring off what plate was given them, that in reality they did exactly as ordered, and that not one man offered to stir from his post on the outside of the house, nor entered the doors, nor said an uncivil word, that the two officers stood not a quarter of an hour in the parlour and butler's pantry, while the butler got the plate together, behaved politely, and asked for nothing but the plate, and instantly marched their men off in regular order, and that both officers and men behaved in all respects so well that it would have done

credit to the best disciplined troops what ever. Some of the English newspapers at that time having put in confused accounts of your expedition to Whitehaven, and Scotland, I ordered a proper one of what happened in Scotland, to be put in the London newspapers by a gentleman who was then at my house, by which the good conduct and civil behaviour of your officers and men was done justice to, and attributed to your orders, and the good discipline you maintained over your people.

I am, Sir, Your most humble servant,

SELKIRK.

REPORT OF JOHN PAUL JONES

CRUISE OF THE U. S. SHIP RANGER AND CAPTURE OF H. B. M. S. DRAKE

[From the original draft in John Paul Jones's letter-book at U. S. Naval Academy.]

BREST, *May 27, 1778.*

GENTLEMEN, I now fulfil the promise made in my last, by giving you an account of my late expedition.

I sailed from Brest 10th of April. My plan was extensive. I therefore did not, at the beginning, wish to encumber myself with prisoners. On the 14th I took a brigantine between Scylla and Cape Clear, bound from Ostend with a cargo of flaxseed for Ireland, sunk her, and proceeded into St. George's Channel. On the 17th I took the ship *Lord Chatham*, bound from London to Dublin, with a cargo consisting of porter and a variety of merchandize, and almost within sight of her port; the ship I manned and ordered for Brest. Towards the evening of the day following, the weather had a promising appearance, and the winds being favorable, I stood over from the Isle of Man, with an intention to make a descent at Whitehaven. At 10 o'clock, I was off the harbor with a party of volunteers, and had everything in readiness to land, but, before eleven, the wind greatly increased, and shifted so as to blow directly upon the shore; the sea increased of course, and it became impossible to effect a landing. This obliged me to carry all possible sail, so as to clear the land, and to await a more favorable opportunity. On the 18th, in Glenbue Bay, on the south coast of Scotland, I met with a revenue wherry; it being the common practice of these vessels to board merchant ships, and the *Ranger* then having no external appearance of war, it was expected that this rover would have come alongside. I was, however, mistaken, for, though the men were at their quarters, yet this vessel outsailed the *Ranger*, and got clear, in spite of a severe cannonade.

The next morning, off the Mull of Galloway, I found myself so near a Scotch coasting schooner, loaded with barley, that I could not avoid sinking her. Understanding that 10 or 12 sail of merchant ships, besides a tender brigantine with a number of impressed men on board, were at anchor in Loughryan in Scotland, I thought this an enterprise worthy attention, but the wind, which at the first would have served equally well to sail in or out of the Lough, shifted in a hard squall so as to blow almost directly in, with an appearance of bad weather; I was therefore obliged to abandon my project.

Seeing a cutter off the lee-bow steering for the Clyde, I gave chase in hopes of cutting her off; but finding my endeavors ineffectual, I pursued no farther than the rock of Ailsa. In the evening I fell in with a sloop from Dublin, which I sunk to prevent intelligence.

The next day, the 21st, being near Carrickfergus, a fishing boat came off, which I detained. I saw a ship at anchor in the road, which I was informed by the fisherman, was the British ship-of-war *Drake*, of 20 guns. I determined to attack her in the night. My plan was to overlay her cable, and to fall upon her bow, so as to have all her decks open, and exposed to our musketry, &c.; at the same time it was my intention to have secured the enemy by graplings, so that, had they cut their cables, they would not thereby have attained an advantage. The wind was high, and unfortunately the anchor was not let go so soon as the order was given; so that the *Ranger* was brought up on the enemy's quarter, at the distance of half a cable's length. We had made no warlike appearance, of course had given no alarm; this determined me to cut immediately, which might appear as if the cable had parted, and at the same time enabling me, after making a tack out of the Lough, to return with the same prospect of advantage which I had at the first. I was, however, prevented from returning; as I with difficulty weathered the lighthouse on the lee side of the Lough, and as the gale increased.

The weather now became so very stormy and severe, and the sea so high, that I was obliged to take shelter under the south shore of Scotland. The 22d introduced fair weather; though the three kingdoms as far as the eye could reach were covered with snow. I now resolved once more to attempt Whitehaven; but the wind became very light, so that the ship could not in proper time approach so near as I had intended. At midnight I left the ship, with two boats and thirty-one volunteers. When we reached the outer pier, the day began to dawn. I would not however abandon my enterprise; but despatched one boat under the direction of Mr. Hill and Lieutenant Wallingsford, with the necessary combustibles, to set fire to the shipping on the north side of the harbor, while I went with the other party to attempt the south side. I was successful in scaling the walls, and spiking up all the cannon in the first fort. Finding the sentinels shut up in the guard house, secured them without their being hurt. Having fixed sentinels, I now took with me one man only (Mr. Green), and spiked all the cannon on the southern fort; distant from the other a quarter of a mile.

On my return from this business, I naturally expected to see the fire of the ships on the north side, as well as to find my own party with everything in readiness to set fire to the shipping in the south. Instead of this, I found the boat under the direction of Mr. Hill and Mr. Wallingsford returned, and the party in some confusion, their light having burnt out at the instant when it became necessary. By the

strangest fatality my own party were in the same situation, the candles being all burnt out. The day too came on apace; yet I would by no means retreat while any hopes of success remained. Having again placed sentinels, a light was obtained at a house disjoined from the town; and fire was kindled in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by at least an hundred and fifty others, chiefly from two to four hundred tons burthen, and laying side by side aground, unsurrounded by the water. There were, besides, from seventy to an hundred large ships in the north arm of the harbor, aground, clear of the water, and divided from the rest only by a stone pier of a ship's height. I should have kindled fires in other places if the time had permitted. As it did not, our care was to prevent the one kindled from being easily extinguished. After some search a barrel of tar was found, and poured into the flames, which now ascended from all the hatchways. The inhabitants began to appear in thousands; and individuals ran hastily towards us. I stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in my hand, and ordered them to retire, which they did with precipitation. The flames had already caught the rigging, and began to ascend the mainmast:—the sun was a full hour's march above the horizon; and as sleep no longer ruled the world, it was time to retire. We re-embarked without opposition, having released a number of prisoners, as our boats could not carry them. After all my people had embarked, I stood upon the pier for a considerable time, yet no persons advanced. I saw all the eminences around the town covered with amazed inhabitants.

When we had rowed a considerable distance from the shore, the English began to run in vast numbers to their forts. Their disappointment may easily be imagined, when they found at least thirty heavy cannon, the instruments of their vengeance, rendered useless. At length, however, they began to fire; having, as I apprehend, either brought down ship's guns, or used one or two cannon which lay on the beach at the foot of the walls dismounted, and which had not been spiked. They fired with no direction; and the shot falling short of the boats, instead of doing us any damage, afforded some diversion, which my people could not help showing, by discharging their pistols, &c., in return of the salute. Had it been possible to have landed a few hours sooner, my success would have been complete. Not a single ship, out of more than two hundred, could possibly have escaped, and all the world would not have been able to save the town. What was done, however, is sufficient to show that not all their boasted navy can protect their own coasts; and that the scenes of distress which they have occasioned in America may be soon brought home to their own door. One of my people was missing, and must, I fear, have fallen into the enemies' hands after our departure. I was pleased that in this business we neither killed nor wounded any person. I brought off three prisoners as a sample.

We now stood over for the Scotch shore; and I landed at noon at St. Mary's Isle, with one boat, and a very small party. The motives which induced me to land there are explained in the within copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Countess of Selkirk, dated the 8th instant.

On the morning of the 24th I was again off Carrickfergus, and would have gone in had I not seen the *Drake* preparing to come out. It was very moderate, and the *Drake's* boat was sent out to reconnoitre the *Ranger*. As the boat advanced I kept the ship's stern directly towards her; and though they had a spy glass in the boat, they came on within hail, and alongside. When the officer came on the quarterdeck, he was greatly surprised to find himself a prisoner; although an express had arrived from Whitehaven the night before. I now understood, what I had before imagined, that the *Drake* came out in consequence of this information with volunteers, against the *Ranger*. The officer told me, also, they had taken up the *Ranger's* anchor. The *Drake* was attended by five small vessels full of people, who were led by curiosity to see an engagement. But when they saw the *Drake's* boat at the *Ranger's* stern they wisely put back.

Alarm smokes now appeared in great abundance, extending along on both sides of the channel. The tide was unfavorable, so that the *Drake* worked out but slowly. This obliged me to run down several times, and to lay with courses up and main-topsail to the mast. At length the *Drake* weathered the point, and having led her out to about mid-channel, I suffered her to come within hail. The *Drake* hoisted English colors, and, at the same instant, the American stars were displayed on board the *Ranger*. I expected that preface had been now at an end, but the enemy soon after hailed, demanding what ship it was? I directed the master to answer, "the American Continental ship *Ranger;* that we waited for them, and desired that they would come on; the sun was now little more than an hour from setting, it was therefore time to begin." The *Drake* being astern of the *Ranger*, I ordered the helm up and gave the first broadside. The action was warm, close, and obstinate. It lasted an hour and four minutes, when the enemy called for quarter; her fore and main-topsail yards being both cut away, and down on the cap; the top-gallant yard and mizen-gaff both hanging up and down along the mast; the second ensign which they had hoisted shot away, and hanging on the quarter-gallery in the water; the jib shot away, and hanging in the water; her sails and rigging entirely cut to pieces; her masts and yard all wounded, and her hull also very much galled. I lost only Lieutenant Wallingsford and one seaman, John Dougall, killed, and six wounded; among whom are the gunner, Mr. Falls, and Mr. Powers, midshipman, who lost his arm. One of the wounded, Nathaniel Wills, is since dead; the rest will recover. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was far greater. All the prisoners allow that they came out with a number not less than a hundred

and sixty men: and many of them affirm that they amounted to an hundred and ninety. The medium is perhaps, the most correct; and by that it will appear that they lost in killed and wounded forty-two men. The captain and lieutenant were among the wounded. The former, having received a musket ball in the head the minute before they called for quarters, lived, and was sensible some time after my people boarded the prize. The lieutenant survived two days. They were buried with the honors due to their rank, and with the respect due to their memory.

The night and almost the whole day after the action being moderate, greatly facilitated the refitting of both ships. A large brigantine was so near the *Drake* in the afternoon that I was obliged to bring her to. She belonged to Whitehaven, and was bound for Norway.

I had thought of returning by the south channel; but, the wind shifting, I determined to pass by the north, and round the west coast of Ireland. This brought me once more off Belfast Lough, on the evening after the engagement. It was now time to release the honest fisherman, whom I took up here on the 21st, and as the poor fellows had lost their boat, she having sunk in the late stormy weather, I was happy in having it in my power to give them the necessary sum to purchase everything new which they had lost. I gave them also a good boat to transport themselves ashore; and sent with them two infirm men, on whom I bestowed the last guinea in my possession, to defray their travelling expenses to their proper home in Dublin. They took with them one of the *Drake's* sails, which would sufficiently explain what had happened to the volunteers. The grateful fishermen were in raptures; and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the *Ranger's* quarter.

I again met with contrary winds in the mouth of the North Channel, but nothing remarkable happened, till on the morning of the 5th current, Ushant then bearing S. E. by S., distance fifteen leagues, when seeing a sail to leeward steering for the Channel, the wind being favorable for Brest and the distance trifling, I resolved to give chase, having the *Drake* in tow. I informed them of my intentions, and ordered them to cast off. They cut the hawser. The *Ranger* in the chase went lasking between N. N. E. and N. N. W. It lasted an hour and ten minutes, when the chase was hailed and proved a Swede. I immediately hauled by the wind to the southward.

After cutting the hawser, the *Drake* went from the wind for some time, then hauled close by the wind, steering from S. S. E. to S. S. W. as the wind permitted, so that when the *Ranger* spoke the chase the *Drake* was scarcely perceptible. In the course of the day many large ships appeared, steering into the Channel, but the extraordinary evolutions of the *Drake* made it impossible for me to avail myself of these favorable circumstances. Towards noon it became very squally, the wind backed from the S. W. to the W. The *Ranger* had come up with

the *Drake*, and was nearly abreast of her, though considerably to the leeward when the wind shifted. The *Drake* was however kept by the wind, though, as I afterwards understood, they knew the *Ranger*, and saw the signal which she had hoisted. After various evolutions and signals in the night, I gave chase to a sail which appeared bearing S. S. W. the next morning at a great distance. The chase discovered no intention to speak with the *Ranger;* she was, however, at length brought to, and proved to be the *Drake*. I immediately put Lieut. Simpson under suspension and arrest, for disobedience of my orders, dated the 26th ult., a copy whereof is here inclosed. On the 8th, both ships anchored safe in this Road, the *Ranger* having been absent only twenty-eight days. Could I suppose that my letters of the 9th and 16th current, (the first advising you of my arrival, and giving reference to the events of my expedition; the last advising you of my draft in favor of Monsieur Bersolle, for 24,000 livres, and assigning reasons for that demand), had not made due appearance, I would hereafter, as I do now, inclose copies. Three posts have already arrived here from Paris, since Compte d'Orvilliers showed me the answer which he received from the minister, to the letter which inclosed mine to you. Yet you remain silent. M. Bersolle has this moment informed me of the fate of my bills; the more extraordinary, as I have not yet made use of your letter of credit of the 10th of January last, whereby I then seemed entitled to call for half the amount of my last draft, and I did not expect to be thought extravagant, when, on the 16th current, I doubled that demand. Could this indignity be kept secret I should disregard it; and, although it is already public in Brest and in the fleet, as it affects only my private credit, I will not complain. I cannot, however, be silent when I find the public credit involved in the same disgrace. I conceive this might have been prevented. To make me completely wretched, Monsieur Bersolle has told me that he now stops his hand, not only of the necessary articles to refit the ship, but also of the daily provisions. I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths which depend upon me for food. Are then the continental ships-of-war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner for their men? "*Publish it not in Gath!*"

My officers as well as men want clothes, to cover their nakedness and the prizes are precluded from being sold before farther orders arrive from the minister. I will ask you, gentlemen, if I have deserved all this? Whoever calls himself an American ought to be protected here. I am unwilling to think that you have intentionally involved me in this sad dilemma, at a time when I ought to expect some enjoyment. Therefore I have, as formerly, the honor to be, with due esteem and respect, gentlemen, yours, &c.

[Jno. P. Jones.]

The American Plenipotentiaries at the Court of France.

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

FACSIMILE OF A COPY OF THE GOLD MEDAL ORDERED BY CONGRESS, OCTOBER 16, 1787, "IN COMMEMORATION OF THE VALOR AND BRILLIANT SERVICES" OF "THE CHEVALIER JOHN PAUL JONES."

Designed by F. Dupré, Paris. The reverse shows the shattered *Bonhomme Richard* battling with the *Serapis*, and the *Alliance*, at the left, firing into her consort, the *Bonhomme Richard*.

SWORD SAID TO HAVE BEEN CARRIED BY JOHN PAUL JONES DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

REPORT OF JOHN PAUL JONES

CRUISE OF U. S. SHIP BONHOMME RICHARD AND SQUADRON, AND CAPTURE OF H. B. M. SHIPS SERAPIS AND COUNTESS OF SCARBOROUGH

[From contemporary copy in the Library of Congress. Spelling and capitalization closely followed.]

On Board the Ship of War Serapis,
at Anchor Without the Texel, in Holland,
Oct^r. 3, 1779.

Honored & Dear Sir, When I had the honor of writing to you on the 11 August, previous to my departure from the Road of Groa, I had before me the most flattering prospect of rendering essential Service to the Common Cause of France and America. I had a full confidence in the Voluntary inclination & Ability of every Captain under my Command, to assist & Support me in my duty With cheerful Emulation; & I Was persuaded that Every one of them Would pursue Glory in preference to intrest.

Whether I Was, or Was not deceived, Will best appear by a relation of Circumstances.

The Little Squadron under my orders, Consisting of the *B. H. R.*, of 40 guns; the *Alliance*, of 36 guns; the *Pallas*, of 32 guns; the *Cerf*, of 18 guns; and the *Vengeance*, of 12 guns; joyned by two privateers, the *Monsieur* and the *Granville*, Sailed from the Road of Groa at Daybreak on the 14. of August; the Same day We Spoke With a Large Convoy bound from the Southward to Brest.

On the 18 we retook a large Ship belonging to Holland, Laden Chiefly With brandy & Wine that had been destined from Barcelona for Dunkirk, and taken Eight days before by an English privateer. The Captain of the privateer *Monsieur*, took out of this prize Such Articles as he pleased in the Night; and the Next day being astern of the Squadron and to Windward, he actually wrote orders *in his proper name*, and Sent away the prize under one of his own officers. This, however, I Superseded by Sending her for L'Orient under my orders, in the Character of Commander in Chief. The Evening of the day following, the *Monsieur* Separated from the Squadron.

On the 20 We Saw and chaced a Large Ship, but could not overtake her, She being to Windward.

On the 21 We Saw and Chaced another Ship that Was also to Windward, & thereby Eluded our pursuit: The Same afternoon, We took a brigantine Called the *Mayflower*, Laden With butter and Salt provision, bound from Limerick in Ireland for London: this Vessel I immediately expedited for L'Orient.

On the 23d, We Saw Cap Clear and the S. W. part of Ireland. That afternoon, it being Calm, I sent Some armed boats to take a brigantine that appeared in the N. W. quarter. Soon after, in the Evening, it became necessary to have a boat ahead of the Ship to tow, as the helm Could not prevent her from Laying across the tide of flood, Which Would have driven us into a deep and dangerous bay, Situated between the Rocks on the South called the Skallocks, and on the North Called the Blaskats; The Ship's boats being absent, I Sent my own barge ahead to tow the Ship. The boats took the brigantine; She being Called the *Fortune* and bound with a Cargo of oil, blubber & staves, from Newfoundland for Bristol. this Vessel I ordered to proceed immediately for Nantes or St. Malo. Soon after Sun Set the villain who towed the Ship, cut the tow rope and decamped with my barge. Sundry Shot, Were fired to bring them too Without effect; in the mean time the master of the *B. H. R.*, *without orders*, manned one of the Ship's boats, and With four Soldiers pursued the barge in order to stop the deserters. The Evenin Was then Clear and Serene, but the Zeal of that officer, [Mr. Cutting Lunt,][a] induced him to pursue too far, and a fog Which came on Soon afterwards prevented the boats from rejoyning the Ship, altho' I Caused Signal guns to be frequently fired. The fog and Calm Continued the next day till towards the Evening. In the afternoon Captain Landais came on board the *B. H. R.* and beheaved towards me with great disrespect, affirming in the most indelicate manner and Language, that I had lost my boats and people thro' my imprudence in Sending boats to take a prize! He persisted in his reproaches, though he Was assured by MM. de Weibert and de Chamillard, that the barge Was towing the Ship at the [time of] Elopement, and that she had not been Sent in pursuit of the prize. He was affronted, because I Would not the day before Suffer him to chace without my orders, and to approach the dangerous Shore I have already mentioned, Where he Was an entire Stranger, and When there Was [not] sufficient wind to govern a Ship. He told me that he Was the only American in the Squadron, and Was determined to follow his own opinion in chacing Where and When he thought proper, and in every other matter that Concerned the Service, and that if I continued in that Situation three days longer, the Squadron Would be taken, &c. By the advice of Captain de Cottineau, and With the free Consent and approbation of M. De Varage, I sent the *Cerf* in to reconnoitre the Coast, and Endeavour to take the boats and people, the

[a] All brackets in this paper are in the original manuscript.—COMPILER.

next day, While the Squadron Stood off and on in the S. W. quarter, in the best possible Situation to intercept the Enemie's merchant Ships, whether outward or homeward bound. The *Cerf* had on board a pilot Well acquainted With the Coast, and Was ordered to Joyn me again before Night. I approached the Shore in the afternoon, but the *Cerf* did not appear; this induced me to Stand off again in the night in order to return and be rejoined by the *Cerf* the Next day; but to my great Concern and disapointment, tho' I ranged the Coast along and hoisted our private Signal, neither the boats nor the *Cerf* joined me. The Evening of that day, the 26, brought with it Stormy Weather, With an appearance of a Severe gale from the S. W., yet I must declare I did not follow my own judgment, but Was led by the assertion Which had fallen from Captain Landais, When I in the evening made a Signal to Steer to the Northward and Leave that Station, Which I Wished to have occupied at Least a Week longer. The gale increased in the Night With thick Weather; to Prevent Separation, I carried a top Light and fired a gun Every quarter of an hour. I Carried, also, a Very moderate sail, and the Course had been Clearly pointed [out] by a Signal before night, yet With all this precaution, I found myself accompanied only by the Brigantine *Vengeance* in the morning, the *Granville* having remained astern with a prize. As I have since understood the tiller of the *Pallas* broke after midnight Which disenabled her from Keeping up, but no apology has yet been made in behalf of the *Alliance*.

On the 31, we saw the Flamie Islands situated near the Lewis, on the N. W. coast of Scotland; and the next morning, off Cap Wrath, We gave Chace to a Ship to Windward. at the Same time two Ships appearing in the N. W. quarter, Which proved to be the *Alliance* and a prize Ship Which she had taken, bound, as I understood, from Liverpool for Jamaica. The Ship Which I Chaced brought too at noon. She proved the *Union* letter of Marque, bound from London for Quebeck, With a Cargo of naval Stores on account of government, adapted for the service of the British armed Vessels on the lakes. The public despatches Were lost, as the *Alliance* Very imprudently hoisted American Colours, though English colours were then flying on board the *B. H. R.* Captain Landais Sent a Small boat to ask Whether I Would man the Ship or [he] Should, as in the Latter Case he Would Suffer nor boat nor person from the *B. H. R.* to go near the prize. Ridiculous as this appeared to me, I yielded to it for the Sake of pease, and received the prisoners on board the *B. H. R.*, While the prize was manned from the *Alliance*. In the afternoon another sail appeared, and I immediately made the Signal for the *Alliance* to chace, but instead of obeying, he Wore and Laid the Ship's head the other Way. The next morning I made a Signal to Speak with the *Alliance*, to Which no attention Was Shown. I then made Sail With the Ships in Company, for the second rendezvous, Which

Was not far distant, and Where I fully Expected to be Joined by the *Pallas* and the *Cerf*.

The 2 of September We Saw a Sail at daybreak, and gave Chace; that Ship proved to be the *Pallas*, and had met With no Success While Separated from the *B. H. R.*

On the 3 the *Vengeance* brought too a Small Irish brigantine, bound homewards from Norway. The Same Evening I Sent the *Vengeance* in the N. E. quarter to bring up the two prize Ships that appeared to me to be too near the Islands of Shetland, While with the *Alliance* and the *Pallas*, I Endeavoured to Weather Fair Isle, and to get into my Second rendezvous, Where I directed the *Vengeance* to join me With the three prizes. The Next morning, having Weathered Fair Isle, and not Seeing the *Vengeance* nor the prizes, I spoke the *Alliance* and ordered her to Steer to the Northward and bring them up to the rendezvous.

On the Morning of the 5 the *Alliance* appeared again, and had brought too two Very Small Coasting Sloops in ballast, but Without having attended properly to my orders of yesterday. The *Vengeance* Joined me Soon after, and informed me that in Consequence of Captain Landais' orders to the commanders of the two prize Ships, they had refused to follow him to the rendezvous. I am to this moment ignorant what orders these men received from Captain Landais, Nor Know I by Virtue of What authority he Ventured to give his orders to prizes in my presence and Without Either my Knowledge or approbation. Captain Ricot further informed me that he had burnt the prize brigantine, because that Vessel proved Leaky; and I Was Sorry to understand afterward that though the Vessel Was Irish property, the cargo Was Property of the Subjects of Norway.

In the Evening I Sent for all the Captains [to] Come on board the *B. H. R.*, to Consult on future plans of operation. Captains Cottineau and Ricot obeyed me, but Captain Landais obstinately refused, and after sending me Various uncivil messages, Wrote me a Very Extraordinary Letter in answer to a Written Order, Which I had Sent him, on finding that he had trifled With my Verbal orders. The Next day a pilot boat came on board from Shetland, by Which means I received Such advices as induced me to change a plan Which I otherwise meant to have pursued, and as the *Cerf* did not appear at my Second rendezvous I determined to Steer towards the third in hopes of meeting her there.

In the afternoon a gale of Wind came on, which Continued four days Without intermission. In the Second night of that gale, the *Alliance*, With her two Little prizes, again Separated from the *B. H. R.* I had now with me only the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*, yet I did not abandon the hopes of performing Some essential Service. The Winds Continued Contrary, So that We did not see the land till the Evening of the 13, When the hills of the Cheviot in the S. E. of Scotland appeared. The next day We Chased Sundry Vessels and took a Ship and a brigantine,

both from the Firth of Edinburgh, Laden with coal. Knowing that there lay at anchor in Leith Road an armed ship of 20 guns, With two or three fine cutters, I formed an Expedition against Leith, Which I purposed to Lay under a Large contribution, or otherwise to reduce it to ashes. Had I been alone, the Wind being favorable, I Would have proceeded directly up the Firth, and must have Succeeded; as they lay there in a State of perfect indolence and Security, Which Would have proved their ruin. Unfortunately for me, the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* Were both at a considerable distance in the offing; they having chaced to the Southward; this obliged me to Steer out of the Firth again to meet them. The Captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* being Come on board the *B. H. R.*, I Communicated to them my project, to Which many difficulties and objections Were made by them: At Last, however, they appeared to think better of the design after I had assured [them] that I hoped to raise a contribution of 200,000 pounds sterling on Leith, and that there was no battery of Cannon there to oppose our Landing. So much time, however, was unavoidably Spent in pointed remarks and Sage deliberation that Night, [that] the Wind became Contrary in the morning.

We continued Working to Windward up the Firth Without being able to reach the Road of Leith, till on the morning of the 17, When being almost Within Cannon Shot of the town, having Every thing in readiness for a descent, a Very Severe gale of Wind came on, and being directly Contrary, obliged us to bear away, after having in Vain Endeavoured for Some time to Withstand its Violence. The Gale Was so Severe, that one of the prizes that had been taken the 14 Sunk to the bottom, the Crew being With difficulty Saved. As the alarm had by this time reached Leith by means of a cutter that had Watched our motions that morning, and as the Wind Continued Contrary, (tho' more moderate in the evening) I thought it impossible to pursue the Enterprise With a good prospect of Success, Especially as Edinbourgh Where there is always a number of troops, is only a mile distant from Leith, therefore I gave up the project.

On the 19, having taken a Sloop and a brigantine in ballast, With a Sloop laden With building timber, I proposed another project to Mr. Cottineau, Which Would have been highly honorable tho' not profitable; many difficulties Were made, and our Situation Was represented as being the most perilous. The Enemy, he Said, Would Send against us a Superior force, and that if I obstinately Continued on the Coast of England two days longer, We Should all be taken. The *Vengeance* having chaced along Shore to the Southward, Captain Cottineau Said he Would follow her With the prizes, as I Was unable to make much Sail, having that day been obliged to Strike the main-top-mast to repair its damages; and as I afterward understood, he told M. De Chamillard that unless I joined them the next day, both the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*

Would Leave that Coast. I had thoughts of attempting the Enterprise alone after the *Pallas* had made sail to join the *Vengeance*. I am persuaded even now, that I Would have Succeeded, and to the honor of my young officers, I found them as ardently disposed to the business as I could desire: nothing prevented me from pursuing my design but the reproach that Would have been Cast upon my Character, *as a man of prudence*, had the Enterprise miscarried, It Would have been Said, Was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau and others?

I made Sail along Shore to the Southward, and next morning took a coasting Sloop in ballast, Which With another that I had taken the night before, I ordered to be Sunk. In the Evening, I again met With the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* off Whitby. Captain Cottineau told me he had Sunk the brigantine, and ransomed the Sloop, laden With building timber that had been taken the day before. I had told Captain Cottineau the day before, that I had no authority to ransom prizes.

On the 21 we saw and chaced two sail, of Flamborough Head, the *Pallas* chaced in the N. E. quarter, while the *B. H. R.* followed by the *Vengeance* chaced in the S. W. The one I chaced, a brigantine collier in ballast belonging to Scarborough, Was Soon taken, and Sunk immediately afterwards, as a fleet then appeared to the Southward. This was so late in the day that I Could not Come up With the fleet before Night; at Length, however, I got so near one of them, as to force her to run ashore, between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon after I took another, a brigantine from holland belonging to Sunderland; and at DayLight the next morning, Seeing a fleet Steering towards me from the Spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy, bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time Expected, one of them had a pendant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force, they had not, however, Courage to Come on, but keept Back all Except the one Which Seemed to be armed, and that one also keept to Windward very near the land, and on the Edge of dangerous Shoals Where I could not With Safety approach.

This induced me to make a Signal for a pilot, and Soon afterward two pilot boats Came off; they informed me that the Ship that Wore a pendant Was an armed merchant Ship, and that a King's frigate lay there in Sight, at anchor Within the Humber, waiting to take under Convoy a number of merchant Ships bound to the northward. The pilots imagined the *B. H. R.* to be an English Ship of War, and consequently Communicated to me the private Signal Which they had been required to make. I Endeavoured by this means to decoy the Ships out of the port, but the Wind then changing, and With the tide becoming unfavourable for them, the deception had not the desired effect, and they Wisely put back. The Entrance of the Humber is Exceedingly difficult and dangerous, and as the *Pallas* was not in sight, I thought it not prudent to remain off the Entrance; i therefore Steered out again to

join the *Pallas* off Flamborough Head. In the night We Saw and chaced two Ships, until 3 o'clock in the morning, When being at a Very Small distance from them, I made the private Signal of reconnoisance, Which I had given to Each captain before I Sailed from Groa. One half of the answer only Was returned. In this position both Sides lay too till dayLight, When the Ships proved to be the *Alliance* and the *Pallas*.

On the morning of that day, the 23, the brig from Holland not being in Sight, we chaced a brigantine that appeared Laying too to Winward. About noon We Saw and chaced a large ship that appeared Coming round Flamborough Head, from the Northward, and at the same time I manned and armed one of the pilot boats to send in pursuit of the brigantine, Which now appeared to be the Vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this a fleet of 41 Sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N. N. E.; this induced me to abandon the Single Ship Which had then anchored in Burlington Bay; I also Called back the pilot boat and hoisted a Signal for a general chace. When the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships Crowded Sail towards the Shore. The two Ships of War that protected the fleet, at the Same time Steered from the land, and made the disposition for the battle. In approaching the Enemy I crowded Every possible Sail, and made the Signal for the line of battle, to Which the *Alliance* Showed no attention. Earnest as I Was for the action, I Could not reach the Commodore's Ship until Seven in the evening, being then within pistol shot. When he hailed the *B. H. R.*, we answered him by firing a Whole broadside.

The battle being thus begun, Was Continued With unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both Sides to gain an advantage, and rake Each other; and I must Confess that the Enemie's Ship being much more manageable than the *B. H. R.*, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavours to prevent it. As I had to deal With an Enemy of *greatly Superior force*, I was under the necessity of Closing with him, to prevent the advantage Which he had over me in point of manoeuvre. It was my intention to lay the *B. H. R.* athwart the enemie's bow, but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both Sails and helm, and Some of our braces being Shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my Wishes, the Enemie's bowsprit, however, came over the *B. H. R.'s* poop by the mizen mast, and I made both Ships fast together in that Situation, Which by the action of the Wind on the Enemie's Sails, forced her Stern close to the *B. H. R.'s* bow, so that the Ships lay Square along side of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of Each Ship touching the opponent's Side. When this position took place it Was 8 o'clock, previous to which the *B. H. R.* had received sundry eighteen

pounds Shot below the water, and Leaked Very much. My battery of 12 pounders, on Which I had placed my chief dependance, being Commanded by Lieut. Deal[a] and Col. Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen, and French Volunteers, Were entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen pounders that formed the Battery of the Lower gun-deck, they did no Service Whatever: two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men Who Were stationed to manage them. before this time too, Col. de Chamillard, Who Commanded a party of 20 soldiers on the poop had abandoned that Station, after having lost[b] some of his men. I had now only two pieces of Cannon, nine pounders, on the quarter deck that Were not silenced, and not one of the heavyer Cannon Was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, Mr. Mease, Who Commanded the guns on the quarter deck, being dangerously Wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and With great difficulty rallied a few men, and Shifted over one of the Lee quarter-deck guns, So that We afterward played three pieces of 9 pounders upon the Enemy. The tops alone Seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the Whole of the action; Especially the main top, Where Lieut. Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three Cannon against the main-mast, With double-headed Shot, While the other two Were exceedingly Well Served With Grape and Cannister Shot to Silence the Enemie's musquetry, and clear her decks, Which Was at last Effected. The Enemy Were, as I have Since understood, on the instant of Calling for quarters, When the Cowardice or treachery of three of my under officers induced them to Call to the Enemy. The English Commodore asked me if I demanded quarters, and I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with Double fury; they Were unable to Stand the deck, but the fire of their Cannon, especially the lower battery, Which Was Entirely formed of 18 pounders, Was incessant, both Ships Were Set on fire in Various places, and the Scene was dreadful beyond the reach of Language. To account for the timidity of my three under officers, I mean the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms, I must observe that the two first Were Slightly Wounded, and as the Ship had received Various Shots under Water, and one of the pumps being Shot away, the Carpenter Expressed his fear that she Should Sink, and the other two concluded that She Was Sinking; Which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop without my Knowledge, to Strike the Colours. fortunately for me, a Cannon ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign staff: he was therefore reduced to the necessity of Sinking, as he Supposed, or of Calling for quarter, and he preferred the Latter.

[a] This refers to Lieutenant Richard Dale.—COMPILER.

[b] These Men Deserted their Quarters. (Footnote on original.—COMPILER.)

All this time the *B. H. R.* had Sustained the action alone, and the Enemy, though much Superior in force, Would have been Very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgements, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by Which means they Would have escaped had I not made them Well fast to the *B. H. R.*

At last, at half past 9 o'clock, the *Alliance* appeared, and I now thought the battle was at an End; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the *B. H. R.* We called to him for God's Sake to forbear firing into the *B. H. R.*; yet he passed along the off Side of the Ship and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the Enemie's Ship for the *B. H. R.*, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and Construction; besides, it Was then full moon Light, and the Sides of the *B. H. R.* Were all black, while the Sides of the prizes Were yellow. yet, for the greater Security, I Shewed the Signal of our reconnoissance, by putting out three Lanthorns, one at the head, (Bow,) another at the Stern, (Quarter,) and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line. Every tongue Cried that he Was firing into the Wrong Ship, but nothing availed; he passed round, firing into the *B. H. R.'s* head, stern, and broadside, and by one of his Vollies Killed several of my best men, and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle. My Situation Was really deplorable. The *B. H. R.* received various Shot under Water from the *Alliance*; the Leack gained on the pump, and the fire increased much on board both Ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of Whose Courage and good sense I entertain an high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let Loose all my prisoners Without my Knowledge, and my prospect became gloomy indeed. I Would not, however, give up the point. The Enemie's main-mast begain to shake, their firing decreased, ours Rather increased, and the British colours Were Struck at half an hour past 10 o'clock.

This prize proved to be the British Ship of War the *Serapis*, a New Ship of 44 guns, built on their most approved Construction, With two compleat batteries, one of them of 18 pounders, and Commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter far more formidable than the britons; I mean fire and Water. The *Serapis* Was attacked only by the first, but the *B. H. R.* Was assailed by both: there Was five feet Water in the hould, and Tho it Was moderate from the Explosion of so much gunpowder, yet the three pumps that remained Could With difficulty only Keep the Water from gaining. The fire broke out in Various parts of the Ship, in spite of all the Water that could be thrown to quench it, and at length broke out as low as the powder magazine, and Within a few inches of the powder. in that dilema, I took out the powder upon deck, ready to be thrown overboard

at the Last Extremity, and it was 10 o'clock the next day, the 24, before the fire Was entirely Extinguished. With respect to the situation of the *B. H. R.*, the rudder Was Cut entirely off, the stern frame, and the transoms Were almost Entirely Cut away, the timbers, by the lower Deck especially, from the mainmast to the Stern, being greatly decayed with age, Were mangled beyond my power of description, and a person must have been an Eye-Witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of Carnage, Wreck, and ruin, that Every Where appeared. Humanity Cannot but recoil from the prospect of Such finished horror, and Lament that War Should produce Such fatal consequences.

After the Carpenters, as well as Capt. de Cottineau, and other men of Sense, had Well Examined and Surveyed the Ship, (Which Was not finished before five in the Evening,) I found every person to be Convinced that it Was impossible to keep the *B. H. R.* afloat so as to reach a port if the Wind Should increase, it being then only a Very moderate breeze. I had but Little time to remove my Wounded, which now became unavoidable, and Which Was effected in the Course of the night and the next morning. I Was determined to Keep the *B. H. R.* afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port. For that purpose, the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* continued on board, With a party of men to attend the pumps, With boats in Waiting ready to take them on board, in Case the Water Should gain on them too fast. The Wind augmented in the Night and the next day, on the 25, So that it Was impossible to prevent the good old Ship from Sinking. They did not abandon her till after 9 o'clock: the Water Was then up to the Lower deck; and a little after ten, I Saw With inexpressible grief the last glimpse of the *B. H. R.* No Lives were lost With the Ship, but it Was impossible to save the stores of any sort Whatever. I Lost even the best part of my Cloaths, books, and papers; and Several of my officers lost all their Cloaths and Effects.

Having thus Endeavoured to give a Clear and Simple relation of the Circumstances and Events that have attended the little armament under my com, I Shall freely Submit my Conduct therein to the Censure of my Superiors and the impartial public. I beg leave, however, to observe, that the force that Was put under my command Was far from being Well composed, and as the great majority of the actors in it have appeared bent on the pursuit of intrest only, I am Exceedingly sorry that they and I have been at all concerned. I am in the highest degree Sensible of the Singular attentions Which I have Experienced from the Court of France, Which I Shall remember With perfect gratitude until the End of my Life; and Will always Endeavour to merit, while I Can, Consistent With my honour, Continue in the public Service. I must speak plainly. As I have been always honored With the full Confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself With Enjoying in Some measure the Confidence of the Court of France, I Could not but be

astonished at the Conduct of M. de Chaumont, When, in the moment of my departure from Groa, he produced a paper, a Concordat, for me to Sign, in Common with the officers Whom I had Commissioned but a few days before. Had that paper, or Even a less dishonorable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it With Just Contempt; and the Word *deplacement* among others should have been necessary. I Cannot, however, Even now Suppose that he Was authorized by the Court to make Such a Bargain With me; Nor Can I Suppose that the minister of the marine meant that M. de Chaumont should Consider me merely as a Colleague With the Commanders of the other Ships, and Communicate to them not only all he Knew, but all he thought, respecting our destination and operations. M. de Chaumont has made me Various reproaches on account of the Expence of the *B. H. R.* wherewith I cannot think I have been justly chargeable. M. de Chamillard can attest that the *B. H. R.* Was at Last far from being well fitted or armed for War. If any person or persons Who have been charged With the Expense of that armament have acted Wrong, the fault must not be Laid to my charge. I had no authority to Superintend that armament, and the persons Who had authority Were So far from giving me What I thought necessary, that M. de Chaumont Even refused, among other things, to allow me Irons for securing the prisoners of War.

In Short, While my Life remains, if I have any Capacity to render good and acceptable Services to the Common Cause, no man Will Step Forth with greater cheerfulness and alacrity than myself, but I am not made to be dishonoured, nor can I accept of the *half Confidence* of any man living; of Course I Cannot, Consistent With my honor and a prospect of Success, undertake future Expeditions, unless When the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine Line. In Cases Where troops are Embarked, a like confidence is due alone to their Commander in Chief. On no other Condition Will I ever undertake the Chief Command of a private Expedition; and when I do not Command in Chief, I have no desire to be in the secret.

Captain Cottineau Engaged the *Countess of Scarborough* and took her after an hour's action, while the *B. H. R.* Engaged the *Serapis*. The *Countess of Scarborough* is an armed ship of 20 six pounders, and Was Commanded by a King's officer. In the action, the *Countess of Scarborough* and the *Serapis* Were at a Considerable distance asunder; and the *Alliance*, as I am informed, fired into the *Pallas* and Killed some men. If it Should be asked Why the Convoy Was Suffered to Escape, I must answer, that I Was myself in no condition to pursue, and that none of the rest Shewed any inclination, not even Mr. Ricot, who had held off at a distance to Windward during the Whole Action, and Witheld by

force the pilot boat With my Lieutenant and 15 men.[a] The *Alliance* too, Was in a State to pursue the fleet, not having had a Single man wounded, or a Single Shot fired at her from the *Serapis*, and only three that did execution from the *Countess of Scarborough*, at such a distance that one Stuck in the Side, and the other two just touched and then dropped into the Water. The *Alliance* killed one man only on board the *Serapis*. As Captain de Cottineau charged himself with manning and securing the prisoners of the *Countess of Scarborough;* I think the escape of the Baltic fleet Cannot So Well be Charged to his account.

I should have mentioned, that the main-mast and mizen-top-mast of the *Serapis* fell overboard soon after the captain had come on board the *B. H. R.*

Upon the Whole, the captain of the *Alliance* has beheaved so Very Ill in Every respect, that I must Complain loudly of his Conduct. He pretends that he is authorized to act independent of my command: I have been taught the Contrary; but Supposing it to be so, his Conduct has been base and unpardonable. M. de Chamillard Will Explain the particulars. Either Captain Landais or myself is highly Criminal, and one or the other must be punished. I forbear to take any steps With him until I have the advice and approbation of your Excellency. I have been advised by all the officers of the Squadron to put M. Landais under arrest; but as I have postponed it So long, I Will bear With him a Little Longer until the return of my Express.

We this Day anchored here having, Since the action been tossed to and fro by Contrary Winds. I Wished to have gained the Road of Dunkirk on account of our prisoners, but Was Overruled by the majority of *my Colleagues*. I Shall heasten up to Amsterdam, and there if I meet With no orders for my government, I Will take the advice of the French Ambassador. It is my present intention to have the *Countess of Scarborough* ready to transport the prisoners from hence to Dunkirk, unless it should be found more Expedient to deliver them to the English ambassador, taking his obligation to Send to Dunkirk, &c. immediately an Equal number of American prisoners. I am under Strong apprehensions that our object here will fail, and that thro' the imprudence of M. de Chaumont, who has Communicated Every thing he Knew or thought on the matter to persons Who Cannot help talking of it at a full table. This is the way he keeps State Secrets, tho' he never mentioned the affair to me.

I am ever, &c. JNO. P. JONES.

His Excellency BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQUIRE, &c. &c.

[This manuscript bears the contemporaneous endorsement: "An exact copy."—COMPILER.]

[a] This is founded on a report that has proved to be false; for it now appears that Capt. Ricot expressly ordered the pilot-boat to board the *B. H. R.*, which order was disobeyed. [Footnote on original.—COMPILER.]

CERTIFICATE OF MESSRS. VAN BERCKEL AND DUMAS

[From contemporary copy in the Library of Congress.]

Attestation de M. Van Berckel, Grand Pensionnaire d'Amsterdam, et de M. Dumas, Agent des Etats-Unis en Hollande.

Le Commandeur Paul Jones, Commandant une Escadre legere équippée aux frais de sa Maj. Tr. Chrétienne, sous Pavillon et commission des Etats-Unis d'Amerique, fit voile de France le 14^{e} Août, 1779 dans le tems environ que la grande Flotte combinée de France et d'Espagne de 66 vaisseaux de ligne sous le Commandement de S. E. le Comte d'Orvilliers, parut dans le canal entre la France et l'Angleterre. Comme on s'attendoit qu'une armée Françoise sous la protection de cette Flotte feroit une descente à la Côte méridionale de l'Angleterre, le Commandeur, ayant Carte Blanche, crut de son devoir de faire une forte diversion pour faciliter l'entreprise. Pour cet effet, il allarma et insulta les Ports de l'Ennemi depuis le cap Clear, le long de la côte occidentale de l'Irlande par le nord de l'Ecosse jusqu'à Hull à l'Est de l'Angleterre. Dans le cours de ce service, aussi dificile qu'important, il fit plusieurs captures armées en guerre et détruisit nombre de Vaisseaux Marchands de l'Ennemi. Le grand désir du Commandeur étoit d'intercepter la Flotte Britannique revenant de la Baltique, et par là priver l'Ennemi des moyens d'équipper leurs Vaisseaux de Guerre. Il y a tout lieu de croire qu'il eût completement effectué ce projet, s'il n'avoit été abandonné Sur la côte d'Irlande, par une partie considerable de ses forces, et si sa Frégate le *Bon-homme Richard* avoit été le moins du monde secondée dans son mémorable Combat contre le *Serapis*, Vaisseau à deux ponts, et contre la *Comtesse de Scarborough*, Frégate. Mais après que le Commandeur eut seul combattu ces deux Vaisseaux pendant une heure à la distance du pistolet, tandis que le reste de ses forces se tenoit à l'abri des coups, malgré l'avantage du vent, l'*Alliance* Frégate Américaine vint lâcher traitreusement trois bordées de mitraille sur le *Bonhomme Richard*. Durant toute l'affaire, l'*Alliance* eut soin de ne pas s'exposer à recevoir un seul coup ni à avoir un seul homme de tué ou blessé à son bord. Le *Bon-homme Richard* fut pendant trois heures accroché au Serapis, et après le Combat, qui dura quatre heures, coula bas, criblé de coups comme jamais vaisseau ne l'avoit été jusque-là. Le combat se donnant à une lieue de navigation de Scarborough, il ne fut pas possible dans les circonstances ci-dessus mentionnées, d'empêcher

l'entrée de ce Port au Convoi Ennemi, qui s'y mit en sureté. Le Commandeur entra au Texel avec le résidu de son Escadre et ses deux dernieres prises le 3 Octobre 1779. La moitié des Equipages tant du *Bonhomme Richard* que du Serapis, ayant été tuée ou blessée, le Commandeur s'adressa à Leurs Hautes Puissances pour la permission d'établir un hopital au Helder, afin d'y pouvoir guerir les blessés: mais la magistrature du lieu s'y opposant, leurs Hautes Puissances assignerent à cet effet le Fort du Texel; et comme le Commandeur eut la permission de garnisonner ce Fort par un Détachement de ses soldats, il expedia la Commission, pour autant de tems que de raison, de Commandant de la Place à l'un de ses officiers. La Flotte combinée étant rentrée à Brest, les Anglois revenus de la terreur d'une invasion dont ils s'étoient vus menacés, firent éclater toute leur animosité contre le Commodore. L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre à la Haye, par des Mémoires reitérés aux Etats-Généraux, ne cessa de réclamer peremptoirement la restitution du Vaisseau de Guerre et de la Frégate pris par le Commandeur et d'exiger en outre que *Pirate Paul Jones* Ecossais fût livré au Roi son Maitre. Cette demarche de l'Ambassadeur ne lui réussissant pas, il fit tout ce qu'il put auprès des Magistrats et Particuliers d'Amsterdam, pour qu'on mit la main sur la personne du Commodore et qu'on le lui livrât; mais en vain: personne n'eut la bassesse ou la hardiesse de se prêter à ses désirs à cet égard.—Les Anglois détachèrent plusieurs Escadres légères pour intercepter le Commandeur. Deux de ces Escadres croisoient continuellement à la vuë du Texel et du Vlie; tandis que d'autres étoient stationnées de manière à leur faire croire qu'il étoit impossible qu'il pût leur échapper. L'objet de la Cour de France en faisant entrer le Commandeur au Texel, étoit qu'il escortât de là à Brest une nombreuse Flotte chargée de matériaux pour l'arsenal de ce Port; mais sa position rendit ce service impraticable, surtout dès que le ministre n'eut pas soin de tenir la chose secrète.—La situation du Commandeur au Texel fixoit déjà l'attention de toute l'Europe, et affectoit profondement la politique des Puissances belligérantes. Mais cette position devint infiniment plus critique lorsque le Prince d'Orange ôta le Commandement de l'Escadre Hollandoise qui étoit de 13 Vaisseaux de Guerre, à M. Riemersma, et envoyà le Vice-Amiral Rhynst[a] pour lui succèder et expulser le Commandeur du Texel, à la vuë des Escadres Britanniques.—Ceci engagea la Cour de Versailles à envoyer à l'Ambassadeur de France à la Haye une Commission de sa Maj. Tr. Chr. pour le commandeur, qui l'autorisoit à arborer le Pavillon de France. Mais à cela le Commandeur n'y voulut point consentir: il avoit fait sa Déclaration en arrivant, d'officier des Etats-Unis: il n'étoit point autorisé du Congrès à accepter la Commission offerte: enfin il concevoit qu'il seroit déshonorant et désavantageux, tant pour lui-même que pour l'Amérique de changer de

[a] Pieter Hendrik Reynst, vice-admiral of the navy of Holland.—COMPILER.

Pavillon, Vû surtout les circonstances.—Excepté la Frégate l'*Alliance*, tout le reste de l'Escadre du Commandeur appartenoit à Sa Maj. Tr. Chr. et l'Ambassadeur de France avoit par conséquent, le droit d'en disposer.—Le Ministre Américain à Paris envoya ordre au Commandeur de livrer tous ses Prisonniers à l'Ambassadeur de France, et pour obéir à cet ordre, le Commandeur fût réduit à lui livrer aussi le *Serapis* et La *Comtesse de Scarborough*, parceque les autres Vaisseaux ne pouvoient contenir le grand nombre des Prisonniers.—Le Commandeur continua donc de déployer le Pavillon Américain à bord de l'*Alliance*, et dès que le vent l'eût permis, le Vice-Amiral, après avoir déjà rendu le Séjour du Commandeur au Texel aussi désagréable qu'il avoit pu, l'obligea de faire voile dans cette Frégate.—Le Commandeur eut l'adresse et le bonheur d'échapper à l'avidité de l'ennemi, et les Anglois enragés de tout cela, et aussi de ce que les Etats-Généraux avoient accordé une escorte pour la Flotte qui portoit des matieres navales du Texel à Brest, déclarèrent peu après la guerre aux Pays-Bas-unis: ils se servirent même du séjour et de la Conduite du Commandeur au Texel pour en faire le premier article de leur Déclaration. Les faits qu'on vient de lire sont de notoriété publique par toute l'Europe; et mon motif en donnant ce témoignage à l'Amérique en faveur du Commandeur, procède du désir de rendre justice à Son Zèle et à sa bonne conduite, pour l'honneur et les intérêts des Etats-Unis dans les affaires parvenues plus immédiatement que d'autres à ma connoissance. À La Haye, ce 10 Mars 1784.

(Signé) E. F. Van Berckel.

Je soussigné connoissant non seulement l'exacte vérité de tout ce que dessus, mais ayant de plus dû être officiellement présent pendant près de trois mois sur l'Escadre Américaine en rade au Texel, l'atteste avec plaisir. À La Haye ce 11e Mars 1784.

(Signé) C. W. F. Dumas,
Agent des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

LETTER TO ROBERT MORRIS

[From autograph draft in the Library of Congress.]

PHILADELPHIA, [*October 10, 1783.*][a]

SIR: It is the custom of nations, on the return of peace, to honor, promote and reward such officers as have served through the war with the greatest "zeal, prudence and intrepidity". And since my country has, after an eight years' war, attained the inestimable blessing of peace and the sovereignty of an extensive empire, I presume that, (as I have constantly and faithfully served through the Revolution, and at the same time supported it, in a degree, with my purse,) I may be allowed to lay my grievances before you, as the head of the marine. I will hope, sir, through you, to meet with redress from Congress.

Rank, which opens the door to glory, is too near the heart of every man of true *military feeling*, to be given up in favor of any other man who has not, by the achievement of some brilliant action, or by known and superior abilities, merited such preference. *If this* be so, how must I have felt, since, by the second table of captains in the navy, adopted by Congress, on the 10th of October, 1776, I was superseded in favor of thirteen persons, two of whom were my junior lieutenants at the beginning; the rest were only commissioned into the continental navy on that day; and, if they had any superior abilities, these were not then known, nor have since been proved! I am the eldest sea officer (except Captain Whipple) on the Journal, and under the commission of Congress, remaining in the service. In the year 1775, when the navy was established, some of the gentlemen by whom I am superseded, were applied to, to embark in the first expedition, but they declined. Captain Whipple has lately and often told me, they said to him, "they did not choose to be hanged". It is certain the hazard at first was very great; and some respectable gentlemen, by whom I am superseded, accepted the appointment of captain and of lieutenant of a provincial vessel for the protection of the river, after our first little fleet had sailed from it; and on board of which *they had refused to embark*, though I pretend not to know their reason. But the face of affairs having changed, as we ripened into the declaration of independence in 1776, their apprehensions subsided; and in a letter I received from the late Mr. Hewes, of Congress, and of the marine committee, dated at Philadelphia, May the 26th, 1776, and directed

[a] This date is assigned to this paper by Mr. Charles Henry Lincoln in the Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.—COMPILER.

to me *as captain of the Providence, at New York*, he says, "You would be surprised to hear what a vast number of applications are continually making for officers in the new frigates, especially for the command. The strong *recommendations* from those provinces where any frigates are building, have great weight". He adds, "My utmost endeavors shall be exerted to serve you; from a conviction that your merit entitles you to promotion, and that you ought to command some who were placed in a higher rank than yourself".

I ask, sir, did these "recommendations" plead more successfully than the *merit* of all the gallant men who first braved the ocean in the cause of America? Your candor must answer, "yes". What a hapless prospect then have those, who can only claim from past, though applauded services! Credit, it is alleged, has been, however, taken in this Revolution for "unparalleled heroism". I am sorry for it, for great as our pretensions to heroism may be, yet modesty becomes young nations as well as young men. But the first beginning of our navy was, as navies now rank, so singularly small, that I am of opinion it has no precedent in history. Was it a proof of madness in the first corps of sea officers to have, at so critical a period, launched out on the ocean, with only two armed merchant ships, two armed brigantines and one armed sloop, to make war against such a power as Great Britain? They had, perhaps, in proportion to their numbers, as much sense as the present table of officers can boast of; and it has not yet been proved, that they did not understand, at least *as well* their duty.

Their first expedition was more glorious than any other that has been since effected *from our coast*. Every officer on that service merited promotion, who was capable of receiving it. And, if there was an improper man placed over them as commander-in-chief, was that a reason to slight or disgrace the whole corps? Has the subsequent military conduct of those officers, by whom the first corps of sea officers were superseded, justified the preference they had to command the new frigates? If it has not, what shall we say in favor of the precedence, which "Repugnant to an Act of Congress, of the 22d of December, 1775", and contrary to all rule or example, was given them in the second table of naval rank, adopted the 10th of October, 1776? Could anything have been more humilitating than this to sea officers appointed and commissioned in 1775? Would it not have been more kind to have dismissed them from the service, even without assigning a reason for so doing? Before any second arrangement of naval rank had been made, perhaps it would have been good policy to have commissioned five or seven old mariners, who had seen war, to have examined the qualifications of the candidates, especially those who made their *conditions* and sought so earnestly after the *command* of the new frigates. Those commissioners might also have examined the qualifications of the first corps of sea officers, proposed to promote such as were capable of it, and struck from the list such as

were unequal to the commission they bore, &c. Thus, by giving precedence in rank to all the captains who had served and were thought worthy of being continued; and also to all lieutenants whose merit and services with their approved qualifications had entitled them to promotion to the rank of captains, justice might have been done both to individuals and to the public. It has been said, with a degree of contempt, by some of the gentlemen who came into the continental navy, the second year of the war, that I "was *only a lieutenant* at the beginning"; and pray, what were they when I was out on the ocean in that character? They pay me a compliment. To be diffident, is not always a proof of ignorance, but sometimes the contrary. I was offered a captain's commission at the first, to command the *Providence*, but declined it. Let it, however, be remembered, that there were three grades of sea lieutenants established by the Act of Congress of the 22d of December, 1775; and as I had the honor to be placed at the head of the first of those grades, it is not quite fair to confound me with the last; I had sailed before this Revolution in armed ships and frigates, yet when I came to try my skill, I am not ashamed to own, I did not find myself perfect in the duties of a first lieutenant. However, I by no means admit, that any one of the gentlemen who so earnestly sought after *rank* and the *command* of the new frigates the next year, was at the beginning able to teach me any part of the duty of a sea officer. Since that time it is well known, there has been no comparison between their *means* of acquiring military marine knowledge and mine.

If midnight study, and the instruction of the greatest and most learned sea officers, can have given me *advantages*, I am not without them. I confess, however, I am yet to learn. It is the work of many years' study and experience to acquire the high degree of science necessary for a great sea officer. Cruising after merchant ships, (the service on which our frigates have generally been employed) affords, I may say, no part of the knowledge necessary for conducting fleets and their operations. There is *now*, perhaps, as much difference between a single battle between two ships, and an engagement between two fleets, as there is between a single duel and a *ranged* battle between two armies. I became captain by right of service and succession, and by the order and commission of the commander-in-chief, his Excellency Ezek Hopkins, Esq., the 10th day of May, in the year 1776, at which time the captain of the *Providence* was broke and dismissed from the navy, by a court martial. Having arrived at Philadelphia, with a little convoy from Boston, soon after the declaration of independence, President Hancock gave me a captain's commission *under the United States*, dated the 8th day of August, 1776. I did not at the time, think that this was doing me justice, as it did not correspond with the date of my appointment by the commander-in-chief. It was, however, I presumed, *the first naval commission* granted under the United States, and as a resolution of Congress

had been passed the 17th day of April, 1776, "that the *appointment* of captains should not determine their rank, which was to be settled *before* commissions were granted," my commission of the 8th of August, must, by that resolution, take rank of every commission dated the 10th of October. My duty brought me again to Philadelphia in April, 1777; and President Hancock then told me that new naval commissions were ordered to be distributed to the officers.

He prayed me to show him the captain's commission he had given me the year before. I did so. He then desired me to leave it with him a day or two, till he could find a leisure moment to fill up a new commission. I made no difficulty. When I waited on him the day before my departure, to my great surprise, he put into my hands a commission dated the 10th day of October, 1776, and numbered *eighteen* in the margin! I told him that was not what I expected, and demanded my former commission. He turned over various papers on the table and at last told me he was very sorry to have lost or mislaid it. I shall here make no remark on such conduct in a president of congress, perhaps it needs none. He paid me many compliments on the services I had performed in vessels of little force; he assured me no officer stood higher in the opinion of Congress than myself; a proof of which, he said, was my late appointment to the command of *secret* expeditions, with five sail and men proportioned, against St. Kitts, Pensacola, Augustine, &c.

That the table of naval rank that had been adopted the 10th of October, 1776, had been drawn up in a hurry, and without well knowing the different merits and qualifications of the officers; but it was the intention of Congress to render impartial justice and always to honor, promote and reward merit. And, as to myself, he added that I might depend on receiving a very agreeable appointment soon after my return to Boston, and until I was perfectly satisfied respecting my rank, I should have a separate command. I returned to Boston and it was not long before I received orders to proceed to Europe to command the great frigate building at Amsterdam for the United States, then called the *Indien* and since the *South Carolina*. It was proposed I should proceed to France in a ship belonging to that kingdom; but, some difficulties arising, the sloop of war *Ranger*, of eighteen guns, was put under my command for that purpose and to serve afterwards as a tender to the *Indien*. Political reasons defeated the plan, after I had met our commissioners at Paris, agreeable to their order, to consult on the ways and means of carrying it into execution. I returned in consequence to Nantes, and reassumed the command of the *Ranger*. When I returned from Europe and my sovereign told the world that some of my military conduct on the coast of England had been "*attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration;*" when the honours conferred on me by his most christian majesty, to wit, a gold sword, on which is impressed the highly flattering words: "*Vindicati Maris Ludovicus XVI.*

Remunerator Strenuo Vindici," and emblems of the alliance between the United States and France, accompanied with the *order and patent* of military merit, and a very strong and *particular letter* of recommendation to Congress in my behalf, were declared *by them* to be "highly acceptable;" when I was thought worthy of a vote of thanks and general approbation so strong and comprehensive, as that hereto subjoined, in Paper No. ———, I was far from thinking that such *expressions* were all the gratification I had to expect. The committee of Congress, to whom was referred my general examination by the board of admiralty, with the report of that board thereon, were of opinion that I had merited a gold medal, with devices declarative of the vote of thanks, I had received from the United States in Congress assembled. And I was persuaded that I should also be promoted, or at least restored to the place I held in the naval line of rank in the year 1775. I waited patiently for some time, but nothing was done on either of these subjects. Being informed by some members of Congress, that it was necessary I should present my claim respecting rank in writing, I did so, in a letter of which No. ——— is a copy, addressed to his excellency the president of Congress, the 28th of May, 1781. My application was referred to a special committee who, as I have been informed by one of its members, made a report in my favor and gave as their opinion that I had merited to be promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. Before Congress had taken up the report an application in opposition to me was made by two of the captains who had superseded me. Upon this the report was recommitted. The committee once more reported in my favour; but without giving a direct opinion respecting my promotion, and recommended the appointment of a commander-in-chief of the navy, &c., as may be seen by the annexed copy, No. ———, of that report; which, on account of the thinness of Congress, was on the 24th of August, 1781, endorsed "*Not to be acted upon*". It is, however, plain, it was intended to be taken up again, when a proper opportunity presented itself; otherwise it would not have been retained on the files of Congress. This appears also by the extract of a letter, No. ———, which I wrote from Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and the answer, No. ———, that I received from the honourable John Mathews, Esq., who was chairman of the committee respecting the honorary medal, and a member of the committee on my rank. While my claim to rank stood recommitted before the committee, I had an unanimous election by ballot in Congress, the 26th of June, 1781, to command the *America*, of 74 guns; and, as I was erroneously informed, *ready to launch* at Portsmouth; [and] several of the members of Congress told me as their opinion, that my rank was thereby settled beyond a dispute; because the *America* was the only ship in the service "of forty guns and upwards;" and Congress had resolved that captains of ships of 40 guns and upwards should rank as colonels, and captains of ships between 20 and 40 guns as lieutenant-colonels. There appeared

so much reason and justice in that opinion, that I was then and am still inclined to believe it was not without foundation; for certainly there is no comparison between the trust reposed in a captain of the line and a captain of a frigate; and, except in England, there is no equality between their distinct ranks. A captain of the line *must* at this day be a tactician. A captain of a cruising frigate *may make shift* without having ever heard of naval tactics. Until I arrived in France, and became acquainted with that great tactician Count D'Orvilliers and his judicious assistant the Chevalier Du Pavillion, who each of them honoured me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations and police of a fleet, I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been, before that time, of naval tactics.

I have already said, there were three grades of sea lieutenants, established by the act of Congress, of the 22d of December, 1775. If I may be allowed at this date to judge, it would be sound wisdom to re-adopt the same number of subaltern grades, exclusive of midshipmen, under the same, or some other denomination. From the observations I have made, and what I have read, it is my opinion, that in a navy there ought to be at least as many grades below a captain of the line, as there are below a colonel of a regiment. Even the navy of France is deficient in subaltern grades, and has paid dearly for that error in its constitution, joined to another of equal magnitude, which authorizes ensigns of the navy to take charge of a watch on board ships of the line. One instance may be sufficient to shew this. The *Zélé*, in the night between the 11th and 12th of April, 1782, ran on board the *Ville de Paris*, which accident was the principal cause of the unfortunate battle that ensued next day between Count de Grasse, and Admiral Rodney. That accident in all probability would not have happened, had the deck of the *Zélé* been at the time commanded by a steady experienced lieutenant of the line, instead of a young ensign. The charge of the deck of a ship of the line, should in my judgement never be entrusted to an officer under twenty-five years of age. At that time of life he may be supposed to have served nine or ten years, a term not more than sufficient to have furnished him with the necessary knowledge for so great a charge. It is easy to conceive that the minds of officers must become uneasy, when they are continued too long in any one grade, which must happen, (if regard be paid to the good of the service) where there are no more subaltern grades than midshipman and lieutenant. Would it not be wiser to raise young men by smaller steps and to increase the number?

I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy, but shall here limit myself to one, which I think a preliminary to the formation and establishment of a naval constitution suitable to the local situation, resources, and prejudices of the Continent. The constitution adopted for the navy in the year 1775 and by which it

has been governed ever since, and crumbled away I may say to nothing, is so very defective, that I am of opinion it would be difficult to spoil it. Much wisdom, and more knowledge than we possess, is in my humble opinion necessary to the formation of such a naval constitution as is absolutely wanting. If when our finances enable us to go on, we should set out wrong, as we did in the year 1775, but much more so after arrangement, or rather derangement of rank in 1776, much money may be thrown away to little or no purpose. We are a young people, and need not be ashamed to ask advice from nations older and more experienced in marine affairs than ourselves. This I conceive might be done in a manner that would be received as a compliment by several or perhaps all the marine powers of Europe, and at the same time would enable us to collect such helps as would be of vast use when we come to form a constitution for the creation and government of our marine, the establishment and police of our dockyards, academies, hospitals, &c., and the general police of our seamen throughout the Continent. These considerations induced me on my return from the fleet of his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil to propose to you to lay my ideas on the subject before Congress, and to propose sending a proper person to Europe in a handsome frigate to display our flag in the ports of the different marine powers, to offer them the free use of our ports, and propose to them commercial advantages, &c. And then to ask permission to visit their marine arsenals, to be informed how they are furnished both with men, provision, materials, and warlike stores; by what police, and officers they are governed, how and from what resources the officers and men are paid, &c. The line of conduct drawn between the officers of the fleet, and officers of the ports, &c. Also the armament and equipment of the different ships of war with their dimensions, the number and qualities of their officers and men, by what police thay are governed in port and at sea, how and from what resources they are fed, clothed and paid, &c.; and the general police of their seamen, academies, hospitals, &c. If you still object to my projects on account of the expense of sending a frigate to Europe and keeping her there till the business can be effected, I think it may be done, though perhaps not with the same dignity, without a frigate. My plan for forming a proper corps of sea officers, is by teaching them the naval tactics in a fleet of evolution. To lessen the expense as much as possible, I would compose that fleet of frigates instead of ships of the line: on board of each I would have a little academy, where the officers should be taught the principles of mathematics and mechanics, when off duty. When in port the young officers should be obliged to attend at the academies established at each dockyard, where they should be taught the principles of every art and science that is necessary to form the character of a great sea officer,

and every commission officer of the navy should have free access, and be entitled to receive instruction gratis at those academies. All this would be attended with no very great expense, and the public advantage resulting from it would be immense. I am sensible it cannot be immediately adopted, and that we must first look about for ways and means; but the sooner it is adopted the better. We cannot, like the ancients, build a fleet in a month, and ought to take example from what has lately befallen Holland.

In time of peace it is necessary to prepare, and be always prepared for war by sea. I have had the honor to be presented with copies of the signals, tactics, and police, that have been adopted under the different admirals of France and Spain during the war; and I have in my last campaign seen them put in practice. While I was at Brest, as well as while I was inspecting the building of the *America*, as I had furnished myself with good authors, I applied much of my leisure time to the study of naval architecture and other matters, that relate to the establishment and police of dock-yards &c. (I, however, feel myself bound to say again, I have yet much need to be instructed). But if, such as I am, it is thought I can be useful in the formation of the future marine of America, and *make whole my honour*, I am so truly a citizen of the United States, that I will cheerfully do my best to effect that great object. It was my fortune, as the senior of the first lieutenants, to hoist, myself, the flag of America the first time it was displayed. Though this was but a light circumstance, yet I feel for its honour more than I think I should have done if it had not happened. See Paper No. ———. I drew my sword at the beginning, not after having made *sinister conditions* but purely from principle in the glorious cause of freedom; which I trust has been amply evinced by my conduct during the Revolution. I hope I shall be pardoned in saying, it will not *now* be expected, after having fought and bled for the purpose of contributing to make millions happy and free that I should remain miserable and dishonoured by being superseded, *without any just cause assigned*.

Though I have only mentioned two things that afflict me, the delay of a decision respecting my rank, and the honorary medal, yet I have met with many other humiliations in the service, that I have borne in silence. I will just mention one of them. When the *America* was presented to his most Christian Majesty, I presume it would not have been inconsistent with the dignity of that act of my sovereign, if it had mentioned my name. Such little attentions to the military pride of officers are always of use to a state, and *cost nothing*. In the present instance, it could have been no *displeasing* circumstance, but the contrary, to a monarch who condescends to honour me with his attention. I appeal to yourself, sir, whether, after being unanimously elected to command the first and only American ship of the line, my conduct, for sixteen months while inspecting her building and launching, had merited only such cold

neglect? When the *America* was taken from me, I was deprived of my tenth command. Will posterity believe, that out of this number the *sloop of war Ranger* was the *best* I was ever enabled *by my country* to bring into actual service? If I have been instrumental in giving the American flag some reputation and making it respectable among European nations, will you permit me to say, that it is not because I have been honoured, *by my country*, either with the proper *means* or proper *encouragement.* I cannot conclude this letter without reminding you of the insult offered to the flag of America, by the court of Denmark, in giving up to England, towards the end of the year 1779, two large letter of marque ships (the one the *Union* from London, the other the *Betsy*, from Liverpool) that had entered the port of Bergen, in Norway, *as my prizes.* Those two ships mounted 22 guns each, and were valued, as I have been informed, at sixteen hundred thousand livres Tournois. I acquit myself of my duty in giving you this information *now* when the sovereignty and independence of America is acknowledged by Great Britain, and I trust Congress will now demand and obtain proper acknowledgments and full restitution from the court of Denmark.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.[a]

[Endorsement]

J. P. Jones to the U. S. Minister of Marine Hon Robt. Morris.

[a] This paper is unsigned. The signature "J. Paul Jones" is appended to a similar, but abridged, letter of October 10, 1783, printed by R. C. Sands in "Life and Correspondence of John Paul Jones," New York, 1830, pp. 304-309.—COMPILER.

LETTER TO MRS. BELCHES

[From original, in possession of Edinburgh Antiquarian Society.]

PARIS, *August 29, 1786.*

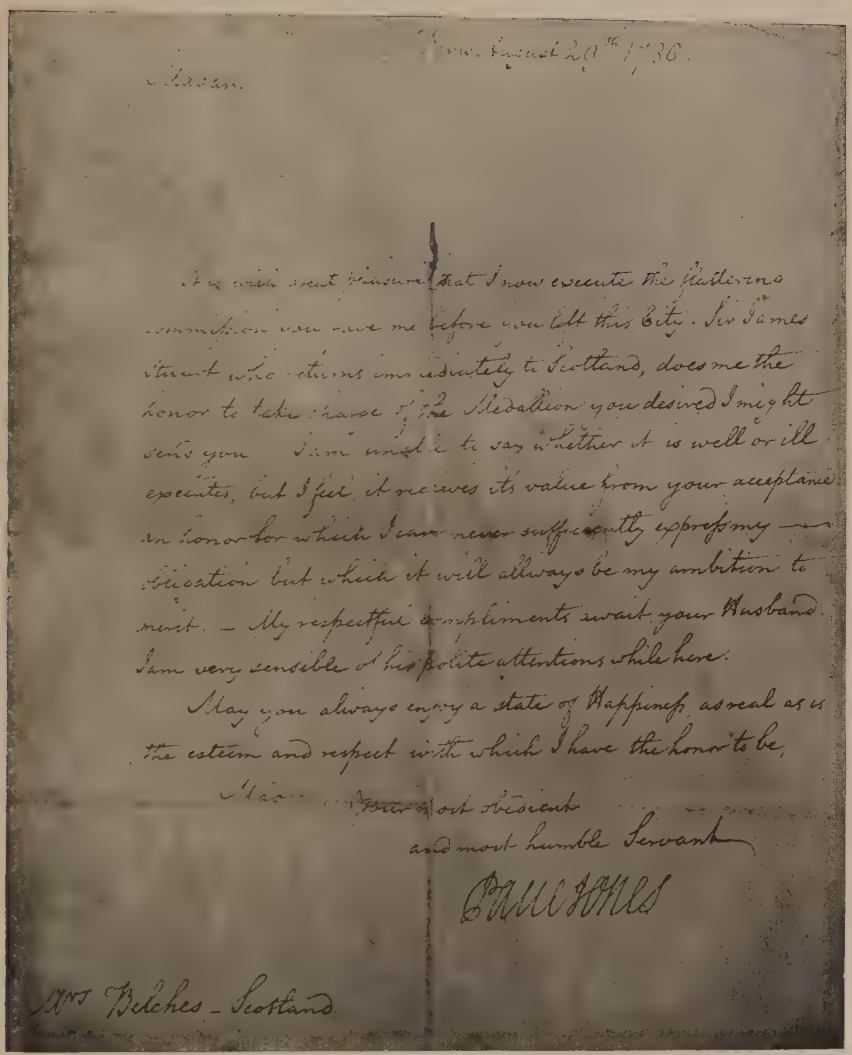
MADAM: It is with great pleasure that I now execute the flattering commission you gave me before you left this city. Sir James Stuart, who returns immediately to Scotland, does me the honor to take charge of the Medallion you desired I might send you. I am unable to say whether it is well or ill executed, but, I feel, it receives its value from your acceptance: an honor for which I can never sufficiently express my obligation, but which it will always be my ambition to merit. My respectful compliments await your husband. I am very sensible of his polite attentions while here.

May you always enjoy a state of Happiness, as real as is the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Madam,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

J. PAUL JONES.

Mrs. BELCHES, *Scotland.*



Boston August 20th 1736.

Madam.

It is with great pleasure that I now execute the gentlemens commission who gave me before I left this City. Sir James Stuart who returns immediately to Scotland, does me the honor to take charge of the Medallion you desired I might send you. I am unable to say whether it is well or ill executed, but I feel it receives its value from your acceptance an honor for which I can never sufficiently express my — obligation but which it will always be my ambition to merit. — My respectful compliments await your Husband. I am very sensible of his polite attentions while here.

May you always enjoy a state of Happiness as real as is the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be,

Madam Your most obedient

and most humble Servant

Paul Revere

Mrs Belches — Scotland

FACSIMILE OF LETTER TO MRS. BELCHES.

From photograph of original in possession of Edinburgh Antiquarian Society, furnished by Capt. John S. Barnes. (Scale, two-thirds of original.)

WAX MEDALLION PRESENTED TO MRS. BELCHES IN 1786.

From photograph of original in possession of Edinburgh Antiquarian Society, furnished by Capt. John S. Barnes.

IV. CHRONOLOGY

[Numbers at right of page denote references, see pp. 186–193.]

1747, July 6.	Born at Arbigland, Scotland	1
1759 to ——.	Apprenticed. Went to sea on the *Friendship*	2
	Visited his brother, William Paul, in Virginia	3
	Made voyage as third mate of slaver *King George*	4
1766.	Chief mate of the *Two Friends*, of Kingston, Jamaica	5
1768.	Returned to Scotland in the *John*	6
	Made master and supercargo of the *John;* sailed for the West Indies	7
1770, Aug. 5.	Wrote from St. George, Granada, to Mr. Craik regarding his private business, his ship, and the care of his mother	8
1770, Nov. 27.	Made a Freemason [entered apprentice] St. Bernard's Lodge, Kilwinning No. 122. Kirkcudbright, Scotland	9
1771, Apr. 1.	Date of certificate of high approval from owners of the *John.* Same year visited his family in Scotland for last time	10
1772, June 30.	Date of affidavit sworn to before Governor Young, of Tobago, exonerating Jones from charges made against him	11
1772, Sept. 24.	In London. Wrote to his mother and sisters; enclosed copy of affidavits establishing his innocence in the case of Mungo Maxwell	12
1772.	Commanded the *Betsey*	13
1773, Jan. 30.	Evidence in Jones's behalf given before Mayor of London	14
1773.	In Virginia	15
	Assumed the name of Jones in North Carolina	16
1774.	Jones's brother, William Paul, died. Date taken from tombstone in St. George's Churchyard, Fredericksburg, Va. William Paul's will dated 1772	17
1775, Apr. 25.	Wrote to Joseph Hewes, Robert Morris, and Thomas Jefferson desiring a naval appointment	18
1775, May —.	Visited French ship *Terpsichore*, Commodore Kersaint, in Hampton Roads. Met Louis Philippe, Égalité	19
1775, June 24.[a]	Marine Committee desired Jones's views on naval affairs	20
1775, July 18.[a]	Appeared before the committee at Philadelphia	21
1775, Aug. 25.[a]	Requested by Marine Committee to fit out the *Alfred*	22
1775, Sept. 14, or Oct. 3.[a]	Sent, through Hon. Joseph Hewes, replies to inquiries from Congress on naval affairs	23
1775, Dec. 3.	"B. P." wrote to Earl Dartmouth that the "Continental flag was this day hoisted on the *Black Prince* [later the *Alfred*] at Philadelphia"	24

[a] Buell, "Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy." These statements are not supported by the Journals of the Continental Congress.—COMPILER.

1775, Dec. 7. Jones appointed first of the first lieutenants in the Continental Navy by Congress. Ordered to the *Alfred* 25
1775, Dec. 22. Appointments of December 7 confirmed by Congress 26
1775, Dec. —. Offered command of the *Providence* or *Fly*. Preferred remaining on the *Alfred* 27
1775, Dec. —. Hoisted the American flag on the *Alfred*, flagship of Commander-in-Chief Esek Hopkins. (Entry above, No. 24,
or
1776, Jan. —. indicates December 3 as the date) 28
1776, Feb. 9. Commodore Hopkins's fleet sailed from Philadelphia under the "Union flag" as used by General Washington at Cambridge. Jones first lieutenant of flagship *Alfred* 29
1776, Feb. 17. The fleet left the Delaware on expedition 30
1776, Mar. 1. Fleet anchored off Abaco. Jones piloted the *Alfred* into New Providence 31
1776, Mar. 17. Fleet sailed from New Providence with captured military stores and the governor and other important prisoners 32
1776, Apr. 4–5. Schooner *Hawk* and bomb brig *Bolton* captured 33
1776, Apr. 6. *Alfred* and *Cabot* engaged the *Glasgow*. She escaped. Hopkins's squadron put into New London 34
1776, Apr. 14. Jones wrote Honorable Mr. Hewes account of the expedition. Sent extract from log of the *Alfred* 35
1776, May 1. Ordered to attend the court-martial of Captain Whipple, captain of the *Alfred* 36
1776, May 10. Jones ordered by Hopkins to command the *Providence* 37
1776, May 18. *Providence* arrived off New York 38
1776, May 19. Jones explained to Hewes reasons for declining the command of the *Fly*; says new commission has not been sent him 39
1776, June 6. Desired command of one of the new ships being constructed by order of Congress 40
1776, June 10. In obedience to Commodore Hopkins's order, pursued an armed sloop in sight off New London. She escaped 41
1776, June 13. Ordered to convoy the *Fly* and other vessels carrying Government supplies 42
1776, June 18. Ordered to Boston by Hopkins 43
1776, June 20. Colonel Tillinghast requested by Jones to get his private Log of the *Alfred* from that ship and send it to him 44
1776, Aug. 1. Arrived in the Delaware with convoy from Boston 45
1776, Aug. 8. Received a captain's commission from the President of Congress. "The first naval commission under the United States," or "since the Declaration of Independence" 46
Marine Committee proposed to Jones the command of the *Hampden;* he chose to remain on the *Providence* 47
1776, Aug. 16. Ordered to watch for French vessel with supplies 48
1776, Aug. 21. Sailed from the Delaware with orders to "cruise against enemy for six weeks or more" 49
1776, Sept. 1. After a sharp action escaped from the British frigate *Solebay*, near Bermuda. Later encountered and escaped from the *Milford*, off Cape Sable 50
1776, Sept. 3 Captured off northeast coast of America, 16 vessels, destroyed
to Sept. 28. fishery at Canso and shipping at Isle Madame. Sent in 8 prizes, burned 8 51
List of prizes 52

1776, Oct. 7. Arrived at Newport, R. I., in the *Providence*..... 53
1776, Oct. 10. Commissioned captain in the Continental Navy (new list made by Congress: Jones No. 18)..... 54
1776, Oct. 17. Wrote Robert Morris an account of cruise. Made suggestions for improvement of the Navy and plans for an expedition against enemy's African trade..... 55
1776, Oct. 22. Took command of expedition to Cape Breton..... 56
1776, Oct. 27. The *Hampden* disabled, had to put back..... 57
1776, Nov. 2. Jones sailed with the *Alfred* and *Providence*..... 58
1776, Nov. 10. Captured brig *Active* off Louisburg..... 59
1776, Nov. 13. Captured transport *Mellish*, with 10,000 suits of uniform. Took 150 prisoners..... 60
1776, Nov. 16. Captured ship *Hetty*..... 61
1776, Nov. 18. The *Providence* parted company from *Alfred* in the night... 62
1776, Nov. 24 to Nov. 30. Captured 5 vessels, one a privateer of 16 guns. Destroyed a transport, ashore at Canso Straits. Burned buildings at Isle Royale..... 63
1776, Dec. 7. Chased by frigate *Milford;* escaped with loss of only one of the prizes..... 64
1776, Dec. 10 or Dec. 15. Arrived at Boston..... 65
1777, Jan. 12. Explained to Mr. Hewes failure to release the Americans at Cape Breton coal mines..... 66
1777, Jan. 14. Superseded by Hinman in command of the *Alfred*, by order of Commodore Hopkins..... 67
1777, Jan. 21. Protested to Marine Committee against this injustice..... 68
1777, Feb. 5. Marine Committee ordered Jones to command a fleet of six vessels for an expedition to Pensacola..... 69
1777, Feb. 10. Wrote Robert Morris concerning the Navy..... 70
1777, Mar. 17. Appointed by Congress to command one of the three ships purchased "until a better can be had"..... 71
1777, Mar. 25. Ordered to Boston to select and fit out a ship..... 72
1777, Apr. 7. At request of President of Congress submitted plans for organization and government of Navy..... 73
1777, Apr. 19. Met La Fayette in Alexandria, Va..... 74
1777, May 4. Letter to Mr. Mawey regarding money due him and care of his mother. Written from Boston..... 75
1777, May 9. Ordered to proceed to France in *Amphitrite.* To take officers and men to man a fine ship to be purchased for him in Europe. Letter to Commissioners in Paris..... 76
1777, May 23. In Boston, shipped men for *Amphitrite*..... 77
1777, May 26. Wrote to the "Secret committee"..... 78
1777, June 14. Ordered to command the *Ranger*, first called the *Hampshire*, building at Portsmouth, N. H.; and Stars and Stripes adopted as National ensign by act of Congress..... 79
1777, June 18. Appointment to the *Ranger* sent by Marine Committee..... 80
1777, July 1, 2. Orders received by Jones at Boston..... 81
1777, July 4. Stars and Stripes hoisted on a United States man-of-war for first time; the *Ranger*, or the *Raleigh*..... 82
1777, July 12. Jones announces to Captain Roach, former commander of *Ranger*, his arrival at Portsmouth and his orders..... 83
1777, July 29. Directions to Lieut. Elijah Hall regarding men's pay..... 84
1777, Aug. 2. Advertised for crew for *Ranger*..... 85

1777, Sept.	6.	Ordered by Marine Committee to proceed to France to report to the Commissioners. The *Indien*, at Amsterdam, promised him	86
1777, Oct. or 30.	29	Reported to Marine Committee the many hindrances in fitting the *Ranger* for sea. Will sail "with first favorable wind"	87
1777, Nov.	1.	The *Ranger* sailed from Portsmouth, N. H	88
1777, Nov.	26.	Captured two brigs (Green says 23d and 25th)	89
1777, Dec.	2.	Anchored off Nantes. Forwarded papers to Paris	90
1777, Dec.	5.	Jones visited the Commissioners at Paris	91
1777, Dec.	11.	Gave a detailed account of voyage in letter to Jacob Wendell	92
1778, Jan.	10.	Commissioners directed an advance of 500 louis d'or to be paid Jones for expenses of ship	93
1778, Jan.	16.	Commissioners give Jones "unlimited orders"	94
1778, Feb.	1.	Fired 13 guns in honor of Mr. Thomas Morris, Continental agent at Nantes, recently deceased	95
1778, Feb.	12.	*Ranger* sailed from Nantes for Quiberon Bay	96
1778, Feb.	13.	Anchored in Quiberon Bay at 7 p. m. (or 6 p. m.)	97
1778, Feb.	14.	Received from Admiral La Motte Piquet, commanding French squadron, first salute to the Stars and Stripes from a foreign power. Gave 13 and received 9 guns	98
1778, Feb.	15.	Sailed through the French fleet in the American brig *Independence*, Captain John Young; saluted the French squadron with 13 guns and received 9 in return	99
1778, Feb.	22.	Informed the Marine Committee of exchanging salutes	100
1778, Mar.	3.	Sailed from Quiberon Bay	101
1778, Mar.	8.	Anchored in Camaret Bay	102
1778, Mar.	23.	Sailed up to Brest. Exchanged salutes with French Admiral	103
1778, Mar.	25.	Wrote Silas Deane and John Ross that he was to receive salute of gun for gun when leaving Brest	104
1778, Apr.	2.	Count d'Orvilliers saluted *Ranger* with 10 or 11 guns when she left Brest, about 5 p. m	105
1778, Apr.	5.	Ships forced by bad weather to return to Brest	106
1778, Apr. or 10.	11	*Ranger* sailed from Brest in company with French frigate *Fortuna*	107
1778, Apr. or 15.	14	Captured brig *Dolphin* off Cape Clear	108
1778, Apr.	17.	Captured ship *Lord Chatham;* sent her to Brest	109
1778, Apr. 20.	19,	Sunk schooner and sloop taken off coast of Ireland	110
1778, Apr.	21.	Captured a fishing boat. Bad weather prevented surprising and boarding the *Drake*, 20 guns	111
1778, Apr.	22.	Captain Jones and 31 volunteers landed at Whitehaven. Spiked guns, burnt shipping, including ship *Thompson*	112
1778, Apr.	23.	Jones and 12 men landed at St. Marys Isle to capture Earl of Selkirk. Selkirk, being absent, men took 160 pounds weight of silver. List of names of landing party	113
1778, Apr.	24.	After fight of one hour and five minutes, H. B. M. S. *Drake* surrendered to the *Ranger*	114
1778, Apr.	25.	Captured brig *Patience.* Let fishing boat go. Buried Captain Burden, of the *Drake*, and Lieutenant Wallingsford, of the *Ranger*, with military honors	115
1778, Apr.	26.	Lieutenant Simpson given command of the *Drake.* Relieved of command by Jones because of disobedience of orders. A brig captured by *Ranger*	116

1778, May 6. Lieut. Elijah Hall sent on board the *Drake* to supersede Lieutenant Simpson 117
1778, May 7. Lieutenant Hall ordered to follow *Ranger* and take the *Drake* into Brest 118
1778, May 8. The *Ranger* reentered Brest with the *Drake* 119
Jones wrote Lady Selkirk courteous letter. Will return her silver. Inventory of silver 120
1778, May 9. Reported the result of expedition to American plenipotentiaries at Paris 121
1778, May 10. Hoisted Continental colors on the prize *Patience* 122
1778, May 11. Prisoners sent on board the *Patience* 123
1778, May 27. Reported to Marine Committee actions from April 10 to May 27 124
1778, May 27. Informed Doctor Bancroft of need of funds for crew, and surprise at the dishonoring of his draft 125
1778, May 28. Reports death of Lieutenant Dobbs, R. N., of the *Drake* 126
1778, June 1. Thanked Doctor Franklin for his expressed approval 127
1778, June 3. Explained his financial embarrassment; had advanced £1,500 of his own money; received no wages 128
1778, June 5. Submitted plans for combined operations against the British, to American plenipotentiaries and French minister of marine. 129
1778, June 6. Sailing in company with the *Boston*, Capt. S. Tucker, off Isle Dieu; visited the ship 130
1778, June 10. Informed by Doctor Franklin that he is to have the *Indien*, building at Amsterdam 131
1778, July 4. Proposed to the plenipotentiaries that Lieutenant Simpson return to America in command of the *Ranger*. Celebrated anniversary of independence on *Ranger* 132
1778, July 12. Letter to Mr. Grand regarding qualifications requisite in a Protestant chaplain for his ship 133
1778, July 27. Lieut. Simpson took command of *Ranger* 134
1778, Aug. 6. Informed General Washington that, at the request of the French minister of marine, he will remain in France. Begs the General's acceptance of a pair of epaulettes he sends. Men of Whitehaven expedition recommended to plenipotentiaries 135
1778, Aug. 10. Informed that the plenipotentiaries will recommend to Congress those who took part in the landing at Whitehaven ... 136
1778, Aug. 15. Requested the plenipotentiaries to order a court-martial 137
1778, Aug. 18. Capt. Abr. Whipple, of the *Providence*, requested by Jones to summon a court-martial to try Lieutenant Simpson 138
Recommends to Congress all who landed at Whitehaven 139
1778, Aug. 21. *Ranger* ran out with a fine breeze 140
1778, Aug. 22. Commissioners order court to try Simpson 141
1778, Sept. 6. Charges against Simpson withdrawn 142
1778, Sept. 13. Having been informed that he can not get the *Indien* and prevented from going on expedition with Count d'Orvilliers, asked Sartine's permission to return to America 143
1778, Sept. 21. Requested the Duc de Chartres to aid him in his efforts to get a ship or some active duty 144
1778, Oct. 16. *Ranger* arrived at Portsmouth, N. H 145
1778, Oct. 19. Implored King Louis XVI to aid him to get a ship. The Duchess de Chartres presented the letter 146
1778, Nov. 21. Explanatory letter replying to Mr. Arthur Lee 147

1778, Dec. 17. Jones summoned to audience with the King..... 148
1779, Feb. 4. The King gave Jones the *Duras;* to be fitted out and manned by him. Permission given to change name to *Bonhomme Richard*, in compliment to Doctor Franklin..... 149
1779, Feb. 6. Jones thanked M. de Sartine for his interest..... 150
1779, Feb. 10. Doctor Franklin and Hon. J. Adams to Jones regarding his giving up the *Ranger*..... 151
1779, Mar. 6. Jones explained to Benjamin Franklin cause of his trouble before coming to America..... 152
1779, Apr. 27. Informed that La Fayette is to command Jones's expedition. *Bonhomme Richard* to be ready May 7..... 153
1779, Apr. 30. Jones wrote to "Father John" (John Mehegan), chaplain to Count d'Orvilliers, that he would require a chaplain for the French of his crew..... 154
1779, May 1. Replied to La Fayette that it would be a great pleasure to serve under his command..... 155
Thanked Sartine, La Fayette, and Benjamin Franklin..... 156
1779, May 1–3. Jones in command of *Bonhomme Richard* at l'Orient..... 157
1779, May 9. Informed by Franklin of affairs on the *Alliance*..... 158
1779, May 11. Captain Landais brings the *Alliance* from Nantes to l'Orient. 159
1779, May 13. Ordered Landais to prepare the *Alliance* for sea..... 160
1779, May 22. La Fayette ordered by King to command a regiment ashore instead of the fleet..... 161
1779, June 1. Jones wrote and sent money to his sister Elizabeth..... 162
1779, June 10. Informed by M. de Chaumont regarding the preparation of the *Bonhomme Richard*, her officers and crew..... 163
1779, June 30. 14, M. De Chaumont sent Jones the "Concordat"..... 164
1779, June 19. *Bonhomme Richard*, *Alliance*, *Pallas*, *Cerf*, *Vengeance* sailed from l'Orient, under command of Capt. John Paul Jones. Convoyed French merchant ships and transports with troops 165
1779, June 20. At midnight the *Alliance* "ran afoul" of the *Bonhomme Richard;* carried away latter's jib boom..... 166
1779, June 21. The *Alliance* made prize of a Dutch ship. A privateer captured, but abandoned; superior force in sight..... 167
1779, June 23. Jones issued "standing orders" to the fleet..... 168
1779, June 30. 29, Chased two frigates. Prepared for action; they stood away. Consulted with his officers as to chasing..... 169
1779, June 30. Thanked officers and men for efforts on 29th..... 170
Entered Groix to refit. Ordered to cruise on coast of Ireland.. 171
1779, July 1. Reported to Franklin; cruise from June 19 to 30..... 172
1779, July 4. Celebrated on board the *Bonhomme Richard.* Fired two salutes each of 13 guns..... 173
1779, July 12. Franklin informed that the *Bonhomme Richard* is too old to admit of proposed alterations..... 174
1779, July 26. Would like to have the *Monsieur* added to fleet. Jamaica fleet, convoyed by a 50-gun ship and two frigates, may be encountered..... 175
1779, July 28. Sent Mr. Lunt and gunner to recruit crew from exchanged prisoners..... 176
1779, July 30. Reported sinking at anchor of prize *Three Friends*..... 177
1779, Aug. 3. *Bonhomme Richard* spoken of as having three decks..... 178
1779, Aug. 7. Mr. Lunt returns with 29 men..... 179
1779, Aug. 10. Special orders issued to the fleet..... 180

1779, Aug. 13. Signed the "concordat" on eve of departure..... 181
1779, Aug. 14. The fleet, under Jones's command, sailed from Groix. Consisted of *Bonhomme Richard*, *Alliance*, *Pallas*, *Cerf*, *Vengeance*, *Granville*, and *Monsieur*..... 182
1779, Aug. 16. Application made by Jones for affiliation with the lodge of Les Neuf Soeurs, Paris..... 183
1779, Aug. 18. Captured the *Verwagting*. The *Monsieur* left fleet..... 184
1779, Aug. 22 to Sept. 22. Captured *Mayflower*, *Fortune*, *Betsey*, *Union*, and 1 ship, 5 brigs, and 5 sloops..... 185
1779, Aug. 25. The *Cerf* and the *Granville* parted from the fleet..... 186
1779, Sept. 17. Letter written to the chief magistrates of Leith..... 187
Released captured fisherman; gave him a passport..... 188
1779, Sept. —. Liverpool put in a state of defense..... 189
1779, Sept. 23. Captured H. B. M. S. *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* off Flamborough Head, England. After an engagement of nearly four hours, the *Serapis*, 44 guns, Capt. Richard Pearson, R. N., surrendered to the *Bonhomme Richard*, Capt. John Paul Jones. The *Countess of Scarborough* surrendered to the *Pallas* and *Alliance*. When asked by Captain Pearson if he had struck, Jones replied "in a most decided negative;" or, "I've not yet begun to fight"..... 190
1779, Sept. 24. Log of the *Bonhomme Richard* states that the *Alliance* raked the *Bonhomme Richard* fore and aft during the latter part of the engagement of 23d..... 191
Jones transferred his crew to and hoisted his flag as Commodore on the captured *Serapis*..... 192
Note to log of the U. S. S. *Serapis* says: "At ½ past 12 at night (23d) the *Serapis* colours were halled down and some of the *Bonhomme Richard's* officers and men boarded her." 193
1779, Sept. 25. The *Bonhomme Richard* sank between 10 and 11 a. m., her flag flying as she went down. Nothing saved but the signal flags. Jones's loss "50,000 livres"..... 194
1779, Sept. 26. Master-at-arms of the *Bonhomme Richard* put in irons for liberating prisoners during the fight, September 23d..... 195
1779, Oct. 3. Jones anchored his squadron and prizes in the Texel..... 196
1779, Oct. 5. Reported his arrival to French ambassador at The Hague.... 197
1779, Oct. 6. Captain Pearson, R. N., reported the engagement and his surrender on September 23 to the British Admiralty Office 198
1779, Oct. 7. Jones left the ship and went to Amsterdam..... 199
1779, Oct. 9, 13. Sir Joseph Yorke, British ambassador, requested the Dutch Government to hold Jones's prizes as English property.... 200
1779, Oct. 11. Franklin informed by Jones that he will hold Captain Pearson as hostage for Captain Conyngham's release..... 201
1779, Oct. 15. Franklin acknowledged receipt of letter of 8th instant. "All Paris and Versailles praising Jones's victory." Directions given regarding Landais. Anxiety regarding prisoners Jones has taken. The prizes sent into Norway arrived safely. 202
1779, Oct. 19. Captain Pearson complained to Jones of his not having visited him, and wished to know what had been done towards exchange of prisoners..... 203
1779, Oct. 20. Jones replied to Pearson, and referred to treatment of Captain Conyngham in England. Sick and wounded British to have all the care given to Americans..... 204

1779, Oct. 24. Jones wrote to M. de Chaumont regarding the unaccountable conduct of Landais, September 23d. Thanked M. de Chaumont for his kindness 205

1779, Oct. 25. Holland refused to agree to Sir J. Yorke's demands regarding Jones's prizes; "will observe a strict neutrality" 206

1779, Oct. 30. Charges preferred against Landais, signed by "officers of the American squadron in the Texel." Sent to plenipotentiaries at Paris 207

1779, Nov. 4. Jones informed the French minister at The Hague of need of water and squadron supplies 208

Wrote to French ambassador explaining position. Loss of French commission and intention to leave the Texel. British squadron watching for him 209

1779, Nov. 15. Directed by Franklin to turn over to French ambassador at The Hague all prizes and ships of his fleet but the *Alliance*. 210

1779, Nov. 21. All American officers and men transferred to the *Alliance*. Command of the *Serapis* turned over to Captain Cottineau by Jones. Captain Pearson exchanged for Captain Conyngham, who was taken on *Alliance* 211

1779, Dec. 1. The *Alliance* ready, waiting favorable wind to sail 212

1779, Dec. 5. Informed Robert Morris of desire to return to America. Number on list of October 10, 1776, unsatisfactory 213

1779, Dec. 13. Indignantly declined "letter of marque" commission from French ambassador at The Hague 214

1779, Dec. 16. Declined to visit Dutch admiral on his ship 215

1779, Dec. 17, Refused to hoist other than American colors on the *Alliance*. Waiting for pilot 216

1779, Dec. 27. The *Alliance* sailed from the Texel. Escaped the British fleet outside 217

1779, Dec. 29. 28, Sailed past British fleets in the Downs and off Spithead, showing American colors 218

1780, Jan. 1. Got clear of the British Channel 219

Jones wrote some "Lines" in reply to Miss Dumas 220

1780, Jan. 12. 8, Took two prizes; sunk one and sent one to America 221

1780, Jan. 16. Put into Corunna, Spain, for anchor 222

1780, Jan. 28. Sailed from Corunna, French frigate *La Sensible*, bound for Brest, in company. Before sailing visited by governor; saluted him with 13 guns 223

1780, Feb. 5, Recaptured a French bark from a Guernsey privateer 224

1780, Feb. 10. *Alliance* arrived at Groix. Convoyed the American merchant ship *Livingston* into port. Notified Franklin of arrival and repairs needed to the *Alliance* 225

1780, Feb. 13. Reported to Franklin from l'Orient 226

1780, Feb. 19. Great economy ordered to be observed in refitting the *Alliance*. Four gentlemen have permission to return to the United States on her. She is to carry arms and ammunition for the United States Government 227

1780, Feb. 25. Jones replied to Franklin that his wishes shall be complied with as far as possible 228

1780, Mar. 12, Franklin informed Landais that he would not give him a ship if he had twenty 229

1780, Apr. 11. *Alliance* ready to sail for America. Arms and supplies for the American Army all on board. Jones visited Paris 230

1780, May 1. Festival in Jones's honor given by the Masonic Lodge of Les Neuf Soeurs, Paris. This lodge ordered Jones's bust to be made by Jean Houdon 231
1780, May Informed that King Louis XVI had awarded him the Order of Military Merit and a gold sword 232
1780, May 30. The King, through M. de Sartine, commended Jones to the Continental Congress 233
1780, June 1. Letter received by Franklin from the American Board of Admiralty dated March 28, 1780, desiring the immediate return of the *Alliance* 234
Franklin commended Jones to Congress 235
1780, June 13. Jones read his orders to command the *Alliance* to the crew. Left for Paris. Landais assumed command of *Alliance* against Franklin's orders. Arthur Lee supported Landais's action 236
1780, June 16. Officers and men desiring to remain with Jones went from the *Alliance* to the *Ariel*, loaned to America by France 237
1780, June 20. Jones returned from Versailles. *Alliance* dropped down to Port Louis 238
1780, June 21. Jones informed Franklin of Landais's refusal to obey orders. Stated that he had prevented the French forts from firing on the *Alliance*, and that she had been towed out 239
Rouel, Parisian artist, desired Jones to sit to him for his portrait 240
1780, June 22. The *Serapis* sold at l'Orient for 240,000 livres to the King of France 241
1780, June 24. The *Alliance* sailed for Groix 242
1780, June 25. Commodore Gillen, of South Carolina, visited Jones in regard to men from South Carolina who had been on the *Bonhomme Richard* 243
1780, June 28. M. de Sartine notified Jones that the King would present to him a gold sword, and the French decoration of the Order of Military Merit. A packet for Chevalier de Luzerne intrusted to Jones's care for transportation to America 244
Landais ordered not to sail for America without instructions. Requested to send 80 men to assist in equipping the *Ariel*. He sent 22 245
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1781, June 28. Petitioned Congress for an advance on pay due him, to enable him to pay his debts and proceed to Portsmouth in obedience to orders 282
1781, July 18. Wrote certificate of merit for Lieut. Richard Dale 283
1781, July 25. Congress approved accounts; referred him to the Treasury Board for payment 284
1781, Aug. —. Left Philadelphia. Visited General Washington at White Plains. Reached Portsmouth late in August 285
1781, Nov. 29. Jones addressed a public meeting in the town hall, Portsmouth, N. H 286
1781, Dec. 13. Appointed by Congress Day of Thanksgiving 287
1781, Dec. 22. Farewell letter from La Fayette to Jones 288
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1782, May 13. Birth of the Dauphin of France announced. All commanding officers ordered by Congress to celebrate it 290
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1782, July 4. Celebrated the Declaration of Independence on board the *America* 292
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1782, Sept. 22. Memorial from Jones to Congress regarding his position. Made suggestions for the betterment of the Navy. Through Robert Morris asked permission to join French expedition to West Indies with the Marquis de Vaudreuil 296
1782, Oct. 9. Robert Morris commended his sentiments 297
1782, Nov. 5. The *America* launched and delivered to Chevalier de Martigne for France. Jones ordered to superintend her fitting out. Jones about this time made another effort to get the *Indien*, then at Philadelphia 298
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1783, Apr. 20. Jones ill. He sailed from Cape François for Philadelphia. Highly praised by French officers 304
1783, May 18. Jones arrived at Philadelphia 305
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1783, Aug. 21. At Bernam, Pa. Wrote to Maj. J. S. Sherburne at Portsmouth, N. H., that his health was restored and he might visit that city 307

1783, Oct. 10. Letter to Robert Morris reviewing his naval career and injustice done him 308

1783, Oct. 13. Applied for position as United States prize agent in Europe .. 309

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1783, Nov. 1. Appointed United States prize agent by Congress; to act under minister plenipotentiary at Paris 310

1783, Nov. 10. Sailed from Philadelphia for Havre on the packet *Washington*. 311

1783, Nov. 30. Bad weather forced the packet to put into Plymouth, England. Jones went to London with dispatches 312

1783, Dec. 6. Arrived in Paris 313

1783, Dec. 17. Franklin authorized Jones to receive all prize money due to officers and men of squadron lately under his command in European waters 314

1783, Dec. 20. In Paris. Presented to Louis XVI by the Maréchal de Castries 315

1784. "Life of Louis XVI," by John Paul Jones, published in London 316

1784, Feb. 1. Jones transmitted his credentials to Maréchal de Castries; hoped for immediate settlement of prize cases 317

1784, Feb. 10. Informed that amount of prize money due, after all expenses are paid, will be "283,631 l. 13 s." 318

1784, Mar. 25. Letter from Franklin regarding prisoners 319

1784, June —. Prepared to return to America with La Fayette. Delayed by settlement of prizes; papers not ready 320

1784, Oct. 23. Maréchal de Castries signed prize case papers. Payment delayed 321

1784, Nov. 8. Lady Selkirk informed by Jones that her silver, taken April 23, 1778, had been shipped to London 322

1785, June 23. De Castries urged to settle prize cases. Jones referred to royal auditor at l'Orient 323

1785, July —. Left Paris for l'Orient 324

1785, July 15. Order for payment of prize money issued 325

1785, July 29. Thomas Jefferson, minister to France, informed of difficulties in settling prize cases 326

1785, July 31. Jones informed Jefferson of actions of Algerines against the United States 327

1785, Aug. 4. Lord Selkirk acknowledged receipt of the silver taken April 23, 1778 328

1785, Sept. —. Prize money amounting to "181,039 livres 1 sou 10 deniers" paid to Jones for the United States 329

1785, Oct. 8. Proposed to Jefferson that Doctor Bancroft take his place as prize agent to Denmark 330

1785, Dec. 18. Letter from Count d'Estaing praising Jones's "Journal." Refers to his joining the Society of the Cincinnati. One of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati 331

1786, Jan. 1. Jones presented his "Journal" to King Louis XVI. Thanked his Majesty for honors conferred by him 332

1786, Feb. 28. Jefferson acknowledged receipt of Jones's bust by Houdon ... 333

1786, Aug. 12. Balance of prize money after deducting Jones's share, "112,172 l. 2–4," placed with Jefferson 334

1786, Aug. —. *Alliance* sold at Philadelphia for $9,750 335

1786, Aug. 29. Jones sent his miniature done in wax to Mrs. Belches, Edinburgh 336

1786, Sept. 3. Informed Jefferson that "bad health has prevented his setting out for Denmark" 337
1787, spring. Left Paris for Copenhagen to settle prize claims in Denmark. Turned back from Brussels and sailed for the United States. 338
1787, July 18. In New York. Wrote John Jay that he will soon return to Copenhagen. Spent summer in Pennsylvania. Urged Congress to do something for relief of Americans in Algiers ... 339
1787, Sept. 4. Wrote to Madame de T. Sent letter through Thomas Jefferson, October 24, 1787 340
1787, Oct. 11. Settlement of prize claims in France approved by Congress. Treasury to pay money "as soon as may be among the captors" 341
1787, Oct. 16. Gold medal ordered by Congress for Jones. To be made in Paris under Jefferson's supervision. King of France to be informed 342
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1787, Oct. 26. Notified by Congress that Jefferson is to manage Danish prize cases, but can appoint Jones or other agent..... 344
1787, Nov. 11. Sailed from New York; vessel bound for Holland; captain of vessel promised to land him in France. Landed him at Dover. Passed some days in London..... 345
1787, Dec. 12. Jefferson informed of his being in Paris. Jones desired this may not be made known until after an interview with him. 346
1787, Dec. 20. Announced his arrival at Paris. Was informed that Russia would like to have him command Black Sea fleet. Would not deliver his letters for King until return from Denmark . 347
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1788, Mar. 4. Cordially welcomed upon arrival at Copenhagen..... 350
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1788, Mar. 25. Informed Jefferson regarding Russian offer..... 354
1788, Mar. 30. Prompt reply asked from Denmark as to payment of prize money due United States..... 355
1788, Apr. 4. Informed by Count Bernstorff that he has not full powers needful for a full agreement. Jones awarded a pension of 1,500 crowns a year by Denmark in recognition of respect shown Danish flag when in the North Sea..... 356
1788, Apr. 5. Count Bernstorff informed that prize claims will be negotiated and settled by Baron de Blôme with Jefferson in Paris..... 357
1788, Apr. 18. Jefferson informed of the termination of the Danish mission, and that Jones has decided to enter the Russian service.... 358
1788, Mar. or Apr. Grade of captain commandant with rank of major-general offered Jones by Empress of Russia through Baron Krudner . 359
1788, Apr. 23 (old style.) [a] Arrived at St. Petersburg after dangerous journey..... 360

[a] The dates herein of events connected with Jones's service with Russia are generally "old style," or eleven days earlier than the present "new style" or Gregorian Calendar.—COMPILER.

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1788, May 2. Jefferson informed General Washington of the invitation to Jones to enter the Russian service..... 362
1788, May 7. Jones left Catherine's palace with a letter from her to Prince Potemkin at St. Elizabeth..... 363
1788, May 19. Arrived at St. Elizabeth; was ordered to command of Russian fleet in the Liman..... 364
1788, May 20. Left St. Elizabeth to take command of the naval force at the mouth of the Dnieper River. Set out for Cherson..... 365
1788, May 26. Hoisted his flag as rear-admiral on the *Wolodimir*..... 366
1788, May 28. Reenforced the fleet of the Prince of Nassau with one of his ships..... 367
1788, May 29. The Russian squadron commanded the passage of the Liman. 368
1788, June 6, 7. Successful engagement with the Turkish fleet. Turks driven back. Jones commanded in person the flotilla of the Prince of Nassau and his own ships..... 369
1788, June 8. Potemkin thanked Jones for his victory of June 7, over the Turks. The Order of St. Anne presented him in recognition of this service to Russia..... 370
1788, June 10. Jones thanked Prince Potemkin for his commendation..... 371
1788, June 16. Turks reenforced; advanced to attack..... 372
1788, June 17. Jones engaged the Turks. Captain Pacha driven back..... 373
1788, June 18. Renewed attack by Turks; their vessels driven ashore and burned..... 374
1788, June 20. Potemkin thanked for letter of June 19. Referred to engagement of the 16th..... 375
1788, June 28. Jones cut off communication between Oczakow and Beresane. Captured two chaloupes and one batteau laden with powder and shot..... 376
1788, June 29. Jones received a warning letter from Prince Potemkin..... 377
1788, July 1. Jones withdrew frigates by order of Prince Potemkin..... 378
1788, July 10. Ordered by Potemkin to establish blockade between Oczakow and Beresane..... 379
1788, July 14. Jones inspected entrance to the Liman..... 380
1788, July 17. Flotilla to be added to Jones's command..... 381
1788, July 18. Jones to send five frigates to be refitted at Glouboca..... 382
1788, July 19. Vessels sent off at daybreak. Thanked by Potemkin..... 383
1788, July 21 to July 31. Operated against Turkish gunboats. Ran close in under Fort Hassan under heavy fire from Turks. Secured one of their gunboats with aid of Lieutenant Edwards..... 384
1788, July 28. Jefferson informed Mr. Cutting of Jones's brilliant victory over the Turks..... 385
1788, Aug. 1. Jones neglected to salute flag of Vice-Admiral Prince of Nassau-Siegen..... 386
1788, Aug. 19 Potemkin proposed by letter that Jones take command of the Sebastopol fleet..... 387
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1788, Sept. 18. Potemkin gave secret orders to attack Turks. Preparations made. Jones ordered to defer operations 391
1788, Oct. 10. Jones to relinquish command of the fleet. Lieutenant Edwards, one of his officers, failed in attempt to dislodge a gun from one of enemy's ships 392
1788, Oct. 13. Ordered by Potemkin to drive back Captain Pacha. Insinuations in wording of letter resented by Jones 393
1788, Oct. 18. Informed that Admiral Mordwinoff had been ordered to supersede him in command of squadron 394
Ordered by Empress Catherine to proceed to St. Petersburg for service in the North Sea. Order addressed to Jones as vice-admiral 395
1788, Oct. 31. Recommended by Potemkin to Empress Catherine for zeal displayed in her service 396
1788, Nov. 9. Embarked in an open galley for Cherson. Suffered greatly on the journey 397
1788, Nov. 12. Arrived at Cherson; detained there by illness 398
1788, Dec. 6. Proceeded to St. Elizabeth 399
1788, Dec. 28. Arrived at St. Petersburg. Ordered to appear at court 400
1788, Dec. 31. Audience with the Empress Catherine II of Russia 401
1789, Jan. 15. Informed Jefferson of return to St. Petersburg 402
1789, Jan. 20. Proposed alliance between Russia and America against the Algerines and for defense of Mediterranean. Would like command of combined fleet 403
1789, Feb. 1. Further propositions of alliance between Russia and America in the Mediterranean 404
1789, Mar. 23. Informed by Jefferson that his letter of January 31 is the only information received from him since he left Copenhagen (about March, 1788) 405
1789, Apr. 13. Forwarded to Prince Potemkin proof of his innocence of a slander against him 406
1789, May 17. Requested permission of Catherine to return to France or America 407
1789, June 6. Requested an interview with Count Besborodko 408
1789, June 27. Informed that he has been granted leave for two years, with all appointments belonging to his military rank, by Her Imperial Majesty 409
1789, July 7. Took leave of Catherine II 410
1789, July 14. Made a third application for interview with Besborodko 411
1789, July 21. Count de Segur defended Jones against slanders. Sent an article to be published in the Gazette de France, vindicating Jones's character 412
1789, July 24. Reviewed campaign of Liman in letter to Potemkin 413
1789, July 29. End of the "Journal of the Liman," written for the Empress of Russia by Jones 414
1789, July 30. Informed of his appointments and arrearages by Count Besborodko 415
1789, Sept. —. Left St. Petersburg for Warsaw 416
1789, Sept. 25. Wrote from Warsaw to Empress Catherine. (See letter February 25-March 8, 1791) 417
1789, Nov. 2. Informed General Kosciusko that he would leave Warsaw "this day for Vienna" 418
1789, Dec. 20. Wrote to General Washington from Amsterdam 419

1789, Dec. 27. Letters to John Ross expressing desire to return to America and purchase a farm, and to Benjamin Franklin inclosing documents from Count de Segur, and recalling the tenth anniversary of sailing of the *Alliance* from the Texel..... 420
1789, Dec. 29. Justified his conduct in Russia to Baron Krudner..... 421
1790, Feb. 9. All calumny removed by Count de Segur..... 422
1790, Mar. 26. Wrote to sister, Mrs. Taylor..... 423
1790, Apr. —, In England attending to private business. Received with
May —. distinction. Returned to Paris..... 424
1790, July 24. Congratulated Potemkin upon Russian success..... 425
1791, Feb. 1. Proposed to Gouverneur Morris a plan for attack on India should Russia and England engage in war..... 426
1791, Feb. 25. Asked Empress Catherine to cancel his leave if she does not require his service. Sent her his "Journal of the Liman Campaign"..... 427
1791, Mar. 20. Asked Jefferson to obtain for him from Congress permission to wear the Russian Order of St. Anne, as it will be on bust ordered for North Carolina..... 428
1791, Mar. 23. Jefferson informed by Chevalier Littlepage of Jones's brilliant work in Russia..... 429
1791, Apr. 20. Met Lord Daer, son of Lord Selkirk, at dinner..... 430
1791, July 4. Called on Gouverneur Morris..... 431
1791, July 9. Sent copy of his bust to Baron Grimm. Referred to inventions and styles of war vessels..... 432
1791, Aug. 31. Informed by Jefferson that his good conduct required no proof in America. Congress could take no action regarding the wearing of the order..... 433
1791, Nov. —. Published "Treatise on the Existing State of the French Navy"..... 434
1791, Dec. 7. Wrote La Fayette that he is to be presented to Louis XVI as a Russian admiral. Will later present to His Majesty letters from Congress, given him when last in the United States [November, 1787]..... 435
1792, Mar. 14. Urged upon the French minister of marine the payment of money he advanced for salaries of *Bonhomme Richard's* crew..... 436
1792, June 1. "Admiral John Paul Jones's" appointment as United States Commissioner to treat with the Bey of Algiers for the release of captive Americans, confirmed by Congress. In conformity with act of Congress May 8, 1792..... 437
1792, July 11. Jones attended the meeting of the National Assembly, Paris. Dined at the Café Timon. Toasted as the "coming admiral of France"..... 438
1792, July 18. Admiral John Paul Jones died in Paris at his residence, No. 42 Rue de Tournon. Gouverneur Morris had drawn up his will a few hours previous to his death..... 439
1792, July 19. M. Le Brun announced Jones's death to the National Assembly (of France). It decreed that a deputation of 12 members attend his funeral. Some of the members proposed to "put him in the Pantheon." Members of the National Assembly wore mourning in his honor..... 440
M. Beaupoil, French officer, notified Jones's sisters of his death, told them of his will, and sent a schedule of his property..... 441

1792, July 20. Body put in a leaden coffin to be convenient for removal to the United States when desired. Prominent Americans and French attended funeral. Swiss Protestant "Pasteur" Jules Marron pronounced an oration. Gouverneur Morris "desired that he (Jones) might be buried in a private and economical manner" 442

Thomas Waters Griffith, of Baltimore, Md., was among those present at Jones's funeral. He stated that there was "no priest, no service." "A volley of muskets was fired by soldiers over his grave," which was in "one of the common cemeteries of Paris." "No priest" doubtless refers to there being no Roman Catholic priest 443

Jones's body deposited in Cemetery for Foreign Protestants at the instance of Gouverneur Morris 444

1792, Aug. 9. Colonel Blackden wrote to Mrs. Taylor, Paul Jones's sister, a full account of his last illness, death, and burial 445

1796, May 20. Information published concerning Jones's shares in the Ohio Company 446

1798. "Citoyen" André published in Paris in French, "Mémoires de Paul Jones." (This is the "Journal for the King" so often mentioned.—COMPILER.) 447

1809. A brief, unreliable sketch of the Life of Paul Jones, published in New York by "Duyckinck" 448

1812, June —. Niles's Register published first installment of an English translation of André's Mémoires 449

1820, July 1. Niles's Register published a notice that the New York Historical Society will be furnished, by Jones's niece, with original papers from which to prepare a biography. About the the same date Col. J. H. Sherburne advertised for data for same purpose 450

1824, Aug. 7. Niles's Register tells of the finding of 414 Jones's original letters and documents in a "huckster's shop" in New York. They were placed in the hands of a Mr. Wiley; later, through a Mr. Ward, came into the possession of Col. J. H. Sherburne 451

1825. Colonel Sherburne published first edition of the "Life of the Chevalier John Paul Jones" 452

1827, Apr. 28. Niles's Register stated that the Journal of John Paul Jones was to be published in Portsmouth, N. H. 453

1830. Memoirs of Paul Jones, published by Oliver & Boyd in Edinburgh, from papers in the possession of Jones's family. (Known as the Janette Taylor edition) 454

A Life of John Paul Jones, published in New York by R. C. Sands 455

1831. Lieut. A. B. Pinkham, U. S. Navy, while traveling in Scotland, visited the birthplace of Jones, and had the house in which Jones was born restored at his own expense. Miss Janet Taylor, niece of Jones, gave Lieutenant Pinkham the miniature now at the United States Naval Academy, in recognition of his kindness 456

1831, June 13. William P. Taylor, nephew of John Paul Jones, appointed midshipman United States Navy, died December 14, 1836.. 457

1834, June 30. Congress authorized that a frigate be named *John Paul Jones.* Not carried out 458

1837, Feb. 28. Col. J. H. Sherburne discovered an unpaid balance of $50,000 in the United States Treasury due to Jones, his officers and men for prizes captured 459

1839, Feb. 18. Letters of administration granted by the orphan's court of the District of Columbia to Colonel Sherburne to enable him to carry out the instructions of Congress regarding the money due for prizes taken by Jones's squadron 460

1841. Capt. A. S. Mackenzie, U. S. Navy, published a "Life of John Paul Jones" 461

1844, Jan. 31. Heirs of Jones petitioned Congress for land in Virginia that had belonged to him 462

1845. Hon. George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, asked by Colonel Sherburne to grant permission for the remains of Jones to be brought to the United States in a man-of-war returning from the Mediterranean. No reply given to the request. 463

1846. J. Fenimore Cooper, published a brief life of Jones. This was followed by sketches of the naval hero by many authors... 464

1847, Dec. 28. Colonel Sherburne wrote to Hon. R. Rush, minister to France, with regard to removal of Jones's remains 465

1848, Jan. 3. Mr. Rush replied that he would give Colonel Sherburne any aid in his power in the removal, from Paris for interment in Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D. C., of Jones's body. 466

1848, Mar. 21. Congress authorized the payment of arrears of pay and prize money to John Paul Jones's heirs 467

1848, July 6. Appropriation for payment of balance of $50,000 to heirs of Jones, his officers and men, and the Danish claim, $150,000, finally made 468

1851, Jan. 27. Secretary of the Navy informed that a revolution in France had prevented Colonel Sherburne from bringing back remains. Asked to be allowed to bring them on the U. S. frigate *St. Lawrence* when she returned to the United States. Americans in Liverpool had subscribed $300 toward a fund for reinterment 469

1851, Jan. 30. Capt. Joshua R. Sands ordered to transport Jones's remains on the *St. Lawrence* upon his return from Southampton to New York 470

1851, Jan. 30. Department informed Colonel Sherburne of orders given to Captain Sands 471

1851, Feb. 21. 20, Colonel Sherburne to accompany remains on board the *St. Lawrence* upon her return voyage 472

1851, May 6. Captain Sands notified Colonel Sherburne from Southampton that he was ready to receive the remains and to sail 473

Mr. N. Billings, attorney for F. E. Lowden, and legal representative of Jones's heirs in Scotland, notified Colonel Sherburne that he had taken steps to prevent removal of remains. 474

1851, May 16. Mr. Billings apologized to Colonel Sherburne. Wrote "will be glad to aid in search for remains" 475

1851, May 27. 19, Correspondence between Colonel Sherburne at Paris, and Captain Sands at Lisbon, regarding Mr. Billings's interference. Sands regretted that he could not have the honor of conveying the body of Jones to United States 476

1851, July 14. The Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Wm. A. Graham, informed that Colonel Sherburne's search of the records of Paris and the files of the Moniteur showed that the Protestant Cemetery in the rear of the Hotel Dieu, where John Paul Jones was supposed to have been buried, had been sold and all bones removed to catacombs. Mr. Billings assisted in the search 477

1851, August. Colonel Sherburne in New York, sent to Hon. Wm. A. Graham a copy of the second edition of his "Life and Character of John Paul Jones," recently published 478

1852, June 5. Death of Col. J. H. Sherburne, Washington, D. C..... 479

1859. M. Charles Read, discovered entry in an old burial register, of interment of Jones in (Dutch) Foreign Cemetery in northeast part of Paris. Made copy from register 89, 1799.. 480

1861, July 29. Congress requested a statement of proportion of fund due heirs of John Paul Jones..... 481

1861, Aug. 6. Secretary of Treasury submitted to Congress statement of prize money due to officers and seamen of the *Bonhomme Richard* and *Alliance*. To *Bonhomme Richard*, $91,024.34; to the *Alliance*, $74,574.03 482

1862, Jan. 3. Above statements presented to Congress 483

1862. U. S. S. *Paul Jones* built and put in service 484

1869, Dec. —. Charles Dickens made the erroneous statement that the remains of John Paul Jones had been brought to the United States on the *St. Lawrence* in 1851, for interment in the Congressional Cemetery at Washington, D. C..... 485

1899, July 31. Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, informed that Mr. Charles Read (antiquary) had made a copy of the burial register destroyed in 1871 486

1905, Feb. 9. Gen. Horace Porter, United States ambassador to France, announced that he had located the burial place of John Paul Jones..... 487

1905, Feb. 14. President Roosevelt transmitted General Porter's report to Congress. Recommended appropriation of $35,000 to defray expense of search in Cemetery St. Louis (no such appropriation was made). Also recommended an appropriation for monuments to John Paul Jones and John Barry..... 488

1905, Feb. 22. At banquet in Paris General Porter stated that after a search of five years he had found the long-sought site..... 489

1905, Apr. 14. Ambassador Porter cabled to Washington that John Paul Jones's body had been found and identified by French scientists 490

1905, June 15. A silk flag presented to Rear-Admiral Sigsbee by the Daughters of the American Revolution Society to be used in connection with the return of Jones's remains. Afterwards to be hung in Continental Hall, Washington, D. C..... 491

1905, June 18. Squadron under command of Rear-Admiral C. D. Sigsbee, sailed for France to bring John Paul Jones's body to the United States 492

1905, July 6. Body of John Paul Jones delivered by Ambassador Porter to Assistant Secretary of State Loomis, and by him delivered to Rear-Admiral Sigsbee in the American Church of the Holy Trinity, Rue de l'Alma, Paris, with appropriate ceremonies 493

1905, July 8. The United States squadron, under command of Rear-Admiral Sigsbee, sailed from Cherbourg for the United States..... 494

1905, July 23. Rear-Admiral Sigsbee's squadron, the *Brooklyn*, *Galveston*, *Chattanooga*, and *Tacoma*, convoyed by the *Alabama*, *Massachusetts*, *Illinois*, and *Iowa*, and the French cruiser *Jurien de la Gravière*, dropped anchor off Annapolis, Md. 495

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APPENDIX

LETTER FROM UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL GOWDY TO REPRESENTATIVE LANDIS

RUSHVILLE, INDIANA, *May 26, 1907.*

MY DEAR MR. LANDIS: It gives me much pleasure to enclose to you a copy of my letter to you of Jan. 2nd, 1899, in answer to yours of November 25, 1898.

I had two copies made at the time I wrote you thinking that at some time in the future I might want the copy for a special purpose.

In fact, Charley, when I dictated the letter it occurred to me that it was *rather* a *good letter*, please excuse me for saying so much to you.

From the date of the receipt of your letter I was actively engaged, through several different channels trying to locate the body, and last resting place of the founder of the American Navy, John Paul Jones. One of my representatives located the grave, and so reported to me, but at the same time said an agent of General Horace Porter obtained the same facts and information the previous day. This closed my further investigation. General Porter and myself always worked in perfect harmony in everything. To General Porter is due the credit of finding the body of the greatest Naval Hero of his day, John Paul Jones.

My desire to do a kindness for you and at the same time perform a patriotic duty for my Government, caused me to give time and expense in an effort to recover the neglected remains of one of America's greatest heroes.

Assuring you of my great pleasure in complying with your request,

I am faithfully yours,

JOHN K. GOWDY.

Hon. CHAS. B. LANDIS, *Delphi, Indiana.*

[Enclosure.]

PARIS, *January 2, 1899.*

DEAR SIR: There are in the catacombs bones representing six million people. After all the research I have made I very much fear that the remains of John Paul Jones lie in the Catacombs, but have learned nothing positive to that effect.

I am still trying to get some information, if possible, and if I succeed will write you at once.

I learn from his biography that "his remains were placed in a leaden coffin, for the convenience of their removal in case the United States should ever claim them for burial," but unfortunately our Government never did so.

It does seem strange that we have not identified ourselves in gratitude to him who fought our battles at sea in our struggle for independence, and who was the first to secure our recognition as a Republic.

"His achievement of glorious deeds commends itself to the gratitude of the country.

Every thoughtful American citizen can not but feel the deepest regret that we have shown no interest in his resting place. The graves of other heroes of the Revolution have been marked, and honor paid. Washington's tomb is as familiar as

his deeds; and not a week passes but American citizens inscribe their names on the visitor's book at the little cemetery of Picpus and pay their respects at the grave of General La Fayette.

John Paul Jones' love of liberty and devotion to the United States Government and its principles, were the strongest passions of his life. Besides fighting our battles he identified himself in many ways with our Government, that in the past century should have called forth as for other heroes of the Revolution the praise and admiration of a grateful people.

1. As Lieutenant of the *Alfred* he hoisted the first American flag that was ever displayed.

2. So closely is he connected with the flag so dear to us that in the same resolution to Congress that made "the flag of the thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, that the Union be thirteen states, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." John Paul Jones was also appointed Commander of the *Ranger*, the best ship in the service, and over which he was no doubt the first to hoist the new flag.

3. He received the first salute ever given to American Independence, that being given by the French fleet at Quiberon Bay three years before the surrender of Cornwallis.

4. He paid off the crews of the *Alfred* and the *Providence* from his own resources and left the United States on the *Ranger* 1,000 ($5,250.00) pounds in advance to the U. S. Government.

5. He fought with a true love of liberty, and during the revolution devoted himself wholly to the interest and honor of America. He afterwards fought under other flags, but always remained true to the U. S. Government, and one of the last efforts of his life was to secure the liberation of American seamen in Algiers.

6. He won several titles and delighted in being recognized by them. He said "Rank opens the door to glory," but he never renounced the glorious title of citizen of the United States. In making his last will and testament he chose not to call himself Lieutenant, Captain, Admiral, or Chevalier, but "I, John Paul Jones, an American citizen." He went in dangerous ways for us, displaying loyalty and courage in great deeds that astonished the age. He certainly deserves a fitting memorial as the great hero that he was, and the founder of our American navy, which by the master ability of Perry, Farragut, Dewey, Sampson, and Schley has won the admiration of the world.

I am faithfully yours,

JOHN K. GOWDY.

Hon. CHAS. B. LANDIS, M. C.,
Delphi, Indiana.

[Inclosure C of Report of Rear-Admiral Sigsbee.]

FRENCH OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS WHO TOOK PART IN THE CEREMONIES AT PARIS

The American train arrived at the Gare des Invalides at 11.50 a. m.

At the station: Capt. André, French navy, representing the minister of marine; Lieut. de Grancey, French navy; Capt. Couranjou, of the staff of the military governor of Paris (Gen. Dessirier); Commandant Vignal, of the general staff of the army; Capt. Beque, of the Legion of the Garde Republicaine, and Lieut. Ebenrecht, of the Seventy-sixth Regiment of Infantry (the last two officers were placed at the disposal of the officer commanding the American guard); Capt. Lepelletier, and Monsieur Tounay, representing the prefect of police of Paris.

Outside the station there was a detachment from the One hundred and third Regiment of Infantry, of the Paris garrison. Staff of the detachment: Capt. Lejay, commanding; 2 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 sergeant-major, 4 sergeants, 8 corporals.

There was also a military band, also the One hundred and third Regiment of Infantry.

After mutual salutes and the playing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise," the American escort and the French detachment proceeded along the Rue de l'Université, avenue Centrale de l'Esplanade des Invalides, avenue de la Motte-Piquet, avenue Duquesne, and avenue des Invalides, to the École Militaire. On the large central esplanade of the École, called the "Cour de Fontenoy," three tents had been erected—one as dining room for the noncommissioned and petty officers of the American escort, another as dining room for the American sailors and marines, and the third as baggage and washing room for the men.

Upon arrival at the École Militaire, and after the men had been dismissed, Col. Buisson d'Armandy, commanding the One hundred and third Regiment of Infantry, and charged with the reception of the American escort, invited the American and French officers to come into one of the tents and drink a glass of champagne, Col. d'Armandy making a speech in English, in which he referred to the close friendship existing between France and America. Lieut. Commander George, in reply, proposed the health of the President of the Republic. Capt. Tabary, of the One hundred and third Infantry, was in charge of the arrangements at the École Militaire. At 1 p. m. the American men sat down to the following lunch: Mousse de Jambon, olives, radis, beurre, sauté de veau, American roast beef, choux fleurs à l'huile, petits fours, half a liter of wine per man, coffee, rum.

In the meantime the American officers, with the exception of three, went to a lunch offered them at the Cercle Militaire of Paris. The three American officers remaining at the École Militaire lunched with Capt. Tabary and other French officers of the One hundred and third Infantry. Everything was done with great liberality and perfect courtesy.

At 1.30 a detachment of American sailors (body bearers) went to the American Church, followed at 2.30 by the rest of the men.

The ceremony at the church was scheduled for 3.30. Practically the entire diplomatic corps of Paris was present. The name of the church is American Church of the Holy Trinity, avenue de l'Alma, Paris. The service was conducted by the Rev. John B. Morgan, assisted by the Rev. M. Van Winkle, Monsieur Mesny, and Doctor Tully. The first hymn sung was No. 418. Then followed the Lord's Prayer, then prayer for the President of the United States, two other collects. Then hymn 107, specially chosen, as all the rest, for some reference to "those who go down to the sea in ships," etc. Then hymn 144. Then followed the fiftieth chapter of Genesis, and Exodus, thirteenth chapter, nineteenth verse. Then two special prayers. Then the hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee;" Benediction. Hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers."

At about 5 p. m. the procession formed and proceeded along the avenue de l'Alma, avenue des Champs Elysees, avenue Alexandre III, Pont Alexandre III, to the Esplanade des Invalides, where a tent or tribune had been constructed to receive the body of Paul Jones and the members of the cortege. The body was deposited there and the march past then took place. The French troops taking part therein were the following:

General commanding the troops, General of Division Frey, commanding the First Division of Colonial Infantry.

General commanding the infantry, Gen. de Chalendar, commanding the Fourteenth Brigade of Infantry.

Infantry.—One hundred and second Regiment of Infantry, Col. Mollard, commanding.

One hundred and fourth Regiment of Infantry, Col. Poline, commanding. Each of these regiments consisted of about 1,000 men.

Cavalry.—First Regiment of Cuirassiers, Col. Foucault, commanding, about 350 men.

Artillery.—One group of horse batteries of the First Division of Cavalry, Commandant Bernard, commanding, consisting of 2 horse batteries of 6 pieces each.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies the American sailors and marines returned to the École Militaire, where they dined, and left about 9.30 p. m. for the railway station of the Invalides, accompanied by the same detachment that had received them in the morning.

The police arrangements were in charge of Monsieur Lepine, prefect of police, Monsieur Seives, prefect of the Seine, and Monsieur Tounay, subprefect.

There was no cheering, but every one in the crowd took his hat off at the passage of the French and American flags and of the body of Paul Jones.

[Inclosure D.]

ADDRESS OF JUNIOR SPECIAL AMBASSADOR LOOMIS IN PARIS

The nature of this occasion, coupled with the presence of the distinguished American who just finished speaking, reminds me that on the banks of the Hudson River, high above the city of New York, commanding a prospect of uncommon loveliness, stands a stately tomb erected in memory of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, a President of the United States and perhaps its foremost soldier. That memorial structure was erected by the American people, almost solely through the brilliant initiative and tireless efforts of Gen. Horace Porter, who again has won the gratitude of his countrymen on account of the complete ultimate success which has marked his patient, persistent, self-sacrificing search for the grave and body of John Paul Jones; and France, ever generous, is about to crown the kindness shown to the United States during its painful struggle for independence by returning, with conspicuous honors, to that country the remains of the founder of the American Navy, who by his brilliant victories proclaimed to the world the rise of a new sea power, and flung to the breezes a new flag representing a new nation.

It is doubly generous on the part of France to surrender the dust of this hero to us, for much of his life was interwoven with the French history of his day, and had he been permitted to enjoy a few years more of health it is known that he would have commanded the fleets of France.

It was from these hospitable shores that he set sail on the memorable cruise which resulted in his victory over the *Serapis*. It was here that he experienced in the highest degree the joys of a conqueror, and it was here that he met some of his most grievous disappointments by reason of the penury and divided councils of America's representatives, and by reason, too, of professional jealousies. Here, laurel crowned, he returned from his cruise, an acknowledged hero, and received with becoming modesty the plaudits of a most friendly people. Here he fulfilled his gallant promise to lay a captured frigate at the feet of his friend and patroness, the Duchess de Chartres, one of the best and loveliest French women of her century. Here, too, from the hands of King Louis XVI, he received knighthood and a sword of honor. Here were heaped upon him social attentions, admiration, and many discriminating tributes of friendship and praise.

In the general environment of Paris and Versailles he found an atmosphere that caused his heart to glow, his mind to broaden, his imagination to kindle with

generous enthusiasm and lofty dreams for the welfare of mankind. It was in France that Jones, one of nature's truest gentlemen, the lowly-born Scotch gardener's son, came to his own and found those things which made life most worth the living, namely, the intelligent, sympathetic companionship of great men and lovely women, coupled with opportunities for high endeavor and professional advancement and the chance to draw his sword in defense of cherished principles.

To France John Paul Jones was chiefly indebted for those fateful and momentous opportunities which, as a sea fighter, and, later, as a diplomatist, gave him a place among those who have achieved enduring renown. His genius contributed largely to the organization and construction of the American Navy, and in his letter to the committee of the American Congress is set forth in admirable form the mental, moral, and professional requirements essential to a naval officer. His words of wisdom are as true, as apt, and as valuable to-day as they were the day they were written. It is the thorough understanding and faithful adherence to the principles so clearly and adequately expounded by John Paul Jones that gave to our naval officers those qualities of heart and mind which enable them to command the confidence of their countrymen and the respect of their professional colleagues throughout the world.

Not only was John Paul Jones a philosopher, a commander, a leader of men, a diplomatist, but in an age when letter writing was a delightful and mannered art his epistles were noteworthy for their lucidity and charm of style.

This veritable sea king, around whose bier the representatives of two Republics meet to pledge anew the time-hallowed and indestructible friendship and the historic good will and amity which cement them, loved, in his broad, magnanimous way, all that was admirable and lovable in the two peoples, and was willing to draw his sword for France and America. To his own country his services were but little less useful on land than on sea. His diplomatic achievements and correspondence indicate statecraft of a high order; and it is said by one of the greatest living authorities on naval affairs that, "Viewed in the light of results, Jones's diplomatic operations in the Texel lose no luster by comparison with his victories at sea."

So it may be justly said that he played his part as effectively on sea, considering his limited opportunities, and accomplished as great results for his country, within the scope of those opportunities, as did our foremost military commanders on land. He fought with daring determination and the cool certainty of consummate skill, not for the sake of carnage, not for the accumulation of prize money, but because he was convinced that he was right, and, being so convinced, he meant to win victories at any cost for the principles he loved, and because he believed that fierce, successful fighting was, in the end, the most merciful and the shortest pathway to peace. He loved, of course, success and glory, but he was not a mere soldier of fortune, a fiery captain athirst for blood, treasure, and conquest, yearning to tread to eminence over men's graves. He could be great, either in peace or war. He was profound, accomplished, many sided. He is entitled to distinction as a lover of the human race, as a genial, optimistic philosopher, and to gratitude as a brilliant conversationalist, whose wit, grace, and informing speech won, at a highly opportune moment, a vast deal of substantial good will for the American cause in Europe.

This symmetrically developed man was wholly self-made. His careful biographer says: "Everything that he was, or that he did, or that he knew was the fruit of self-incentive and self-help to a degree that was, and still is, unexampled in the histories of great men. No successful man who ever lived owed so much to himself alone, so little to the adventitious in circumstance."

One likes to dwell upon his achievements in the ways of peace, and upon his devotion to what he believed to be good and sound political principles. Said he: "I have drawn my sword only from motives of humanity and in support of the

dignity of human rights." What warrior ever placed his martial activities upon a higher and nobler plane than that? He fought for good and sound political and moral doctrine. Love of liberty led him into the ranks of the American Revolutionists when the safer and easier course for him would have been to espouse the cause of the King.

Two years' residence in the American colonies as a landed proprietor; careful study of momentous governmental principles at issue; the friendship of such men as Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Hewes, and other leaders of the period, was enough, and more, to convince a man of his swift natural perception, originality of ideas, profound and tireless observation, and logical, ordered thought, that a crisis in human affairs had come; so he turned from the allurements of the throne and resolutely trod the way he knew might lead him to the scaffold.

Fortune was not unkind to him always. He hoisted the first American flag that ever flew from an American war vessel on his ship the *Ranger*. The flag was authorized and created by Congress in the same resolution, on the 14th of June, 1777, which commissioned Jones a captain, and he said of the banner, "That flag and I are twins, born at the same hour in the womb of destiny. We can not be parted in life or death. So long as we shall float, we shall float together; if we sink, we shall go down as one."

Under this flag he came to France the same year, bearing official information of Burgoyne's surrender; information which had much to do in causing Louis XVI to recognize the independence of the United States.

It was at this period, February 14, 1778, that the French naval commander at Brest fired the first salute ever given by a foreign nation to the American flag—an historic and important event which was arranged through the diplomacy of John Paul Jones.

With this great sailor, love of freedom was innate and natural as love for the sea. Beginning his ocean career at 12, he became familiar with the sensation of looking out upon illimitable vistas of water. He studied the pathway of the winds, the sweep of ocean currents by day, and the positions and the movements of the stars at night, facing the infinite, and with imminent peril for his unfailing companion. His seafaring life was an experience to shrivel a small, to uplift a noble and great nature. For we may suppose, during these years, something of the strength and purity of the sea entered his soul and abided evermore. His love for his fellow-men caused him, at that early date, to detest the institution of human slavery, and later, to refuse to resume his plantation life after the war, for the reason that, under the then existing economic social conditions, agricultural success could only be achieved through the employment of slave labor.

John Paul Jones died in France at the period when France had great need of his services; and Napoleon deplored the untimely death that robbed him of a great admiral. The conjunction of these two warriors of genius might have changed the history of the world.

America unfortunately exemplified the adage that republics are ungrateful, for in the stress and struggle of building a new country, she forgot for a time her departed hero. France, be it said to her credit, remembered Paul Jones in appropriate, handsome, and touching ways, showing as ever her keen and splendid appreciation of genius and valor—an appreciation which is magnanimous and magnificent in its scope, knowing neither race nor nationality.

The National Assembly of France when notified of John Paul Jones's death, on the 19th of July, 1792, paid immediate and appropriate respect to his memory, by suspending the order of the day, adopting a suitable resolution, and appointing a committee of twelve members to attend his funeral.

In the latest biography of Admiral Jones it is stated that before the resolution was adopted in silence by a rising vote, a member of the Assembly said: "I trust

the feeling of personal bereavement universal in this body may be granted brief expression. What Paul Jones has done for the rights of men need not be told to Frenchmen. What more he stood pledged almost with his last breath to do if spared is known to many Frenchmen."

Bertrand Barère, then at the height of his fame as a powerful and popular orator, delivered from the portico of the palace of justice an impassioned oration on the achievements of his dead friend, John Paul Jones. The first memoir of Jones was published by Benoit-André in 1798.

Think for a moment what opportunity for the biographer his brief but crowded career presents! Sailor boy at 12, officer at 17, captain at 20, in the merchant service of the North Atlantic; East Indiaman and Virginia planter—all before he had passed the age of 27; naval lieutenant at 28, captain at 29, commodore at 32, the ocean hero of the Old World and the New at 33; a knight of France; the most famous sea victor of his time; patronized by kings, petted by duchesses of the royal blood, thanked by Congress, and the trusted friend and sometimes associate of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, La Fayette, Hamilton, and Morris; at 36 selected as special envoy to the most aristocratic of courts, charged with the most delicate and intricate of missions—the adjudication and collection of international claims—without any guide or precedent; at 40, voted a gold medal by Congress; at 41, a vice-admiral in the imperial navy of Russia, and winning victories over the Turks; at 43 a prominent figure in the thrilling overture of that tremendous drama, the French Revolution, and dead at 45; disinterred one hundred and thirteen years later from a dismal and forgotten grave, and brought here this afternoon, receiving merited honors too long delayed.

I have the honor, on behalf of the President of the United States, to accept the custody of the casket which incloses the remains of Admiral Jones, and to commit them to the worthy hands of Admiral Sigsbee. They will be borne over the seas he loved back to the land he served so well, where I am confident the justice and generosity of a great people will move them to render ample homage to the memory of a man to whom all the world ungrudgingly awards the august meed of immortal fame.

[Inclosure E.]

ADDRESS OF REAR-ADMIRAL SIGSBEE, U. S. NAVY, IN PARIS

MR. AMBASSADOR: I am here in command of a squadron of United States war vessels, and am charged with the transportation of the remains of Admiral John Paul Jones to the United States.

Although it was largely by the aid of France that our hero fought so conspicuously, he fought in the service and for the cause of the United States. It is therefore fitting that his remains should find their last resting place within our own boundaries. Since he was the greatest of our earliest naval commanders, it is appropriate that his remains should be transferred to the guardianship of the naval service.

The President of the United States, in the exercise of his ever friendly and correct judgment in all that pertains to the naval service of his country, has decided that the remains shall be deposited in perpetuity within the walls of the chapel of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. It can not be doubted that their presence in that institution will serve as an inspiration and as an example to all future generations of our Navy. Our President had this object in mind when he chose the Naval Academy.

It will be remembered by the Navy of the United States that these remains of a naval officer were recovered through the initiative and the efforts of Gen. Horace

Porter, a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point. The Army and Navy of the United States therefore come together in patriotic and fraternal sentiment on this occasion. General Porter may be well assured that my own appreciation of his labors is shared by the whole naval service, which he has so greatly honored. We shall ever regard him affectionately.

The occasion which calls us here has also served to bring together, in remembrance of our joint history, the army and navy of France and the Army and Navy of the United States. If ever the gratitude of the United States to France may seem to be latent, we Americans have only to open a history of our war for independence in order to quicken our sentiments and to compel our blessings.

I take advantage of this opportunity, Mr. Ambassador, to request you to express, through appropriate channels and in behalf of myself and the whole personnel of my command, our thanks for the many honors paid us by the President of France and by the personnel—civil, military, and naval—of his Government and of the city of Paris. Their action signalizes the interest of the French people in the object of our present mission to France. Our time has been so filled by honors and events that I fail to conceive any other way of acknowledging our indebtedness within the time remaining at our disposal.

I beg also, Mr. Ambassador, to present to the American ambassador at Paris, to General Porter, and to yourself the thanks of my officers and myself for the kind consideration, both official and personal, that you have severally shown us in connection with the duty to which we have been appointed.

I am here, as you well know, Mr. Ambassador, as the naval representative of the Navy Department at Washington. I am directed in my orders from the Navy Department to receive from you these remains. You have decided to transfer them to my charge in Paris. Therefore I hereby accept from you the honor and the further responsibility, with the assurance that my command will bear the remains of John Paul Jones most reverently to their final resting place within the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

[Inclosure F.]

ADDRESS OF VICE-ADMIRAL BESSON, AT CHERBOURG

[Translation by Prof. H. Marion.]

ADMIRAL AND GENTLEMEN: You are longing to take on board the *Brooklyn*, where they will at last rest on the territory and under the flag of the United States, these venerated remains of Admiral Paul Jones. I understand your patriotic impatience; therefore I shall not detain you to listen to a new eulogy on the well-known and so marvelously successful career of your illustrious compatriot.

But at the moment when his ashes are about to leave the hospitable land which for one hundred and thirteen years has carefully guarded them in her bosom, it is my duty to give to them, in the name of the French navy, a last salute.

Your hearts, as well as ours, are to-day closely brought together in common sympathy. In the month of February, 1778, in the Bay of Quiberon, the squadron commander in chief, La Motte-Piquet, was the first to salute the starry flag of the young Republic of the United States. This flag was that of Commodore Jones.

And truly, upon this solemn occasion, there was none more worthy than this gallant sailor to represent his country and to receive for her this public declaration of her admission to the ranks of nations.

After some brilliant services rendered the cause of independence in American waters, he had been directed to make a diversion in European waters, and was returning at that time from a memorable cruise in the Irish Sea. He was then, as

commander of a squadron of French ships, sailing under American colors on the eve of that famous battle off Flamborough, the most extraordinary in his life, so rich already in remarkable deeds.

It is my privilege to recall that Paul Jones led French vessels to victory; that his brilliant achievements caused him to be received among us with an enthusiastic welcome; that at the outbreak of our Revolution he again offered to serve in our navy, and that when, a short time afterwards, he died, at the age of 45, our legislative assembly attended his funeral.

It is therefore to one of our own brothers in arms of the end of the eighteenth century that we render the last honors.

This hero, whose exploits have given much brilliant luster to the dawn of the American Navy, is one of those who have most contributed in cementing these ties of friendship between our two nations, yet unbroken after more than a century.

In the name of the French navy, I salute with respect the memory of Admiral Paul Jones, and I hope that the ashes of this illustrious sailor may speedily accomplish their triumphal return to his grateful country, which now reclaims him.

THE CEREMONIES AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY JULY 24, 1905

[Extract from "John Paul Jones's Last Cruise and Final Resting Place, the United States Naval Academy," by Prof. H. Marion.]

On Monday morning, July 24, the body of America's greatest naval hero was transferred from the *Brooklyn* to the Naval Academy on the naval tug *Standish*, amid the booming of guns fired in his honor by the American and French men-of-war, and placed in the temporary vault that had been erected for this purpose.

The ceremonies at the Naval Academy were purely of a naval character, neither President Roosevelt nor Governor Warfield, of Maryland, being present. They took place at 10 a. m., when the remains were landed from the *Standish* on a beautifully decorated float in the basin facing the Severn River. Everything was done with the same precision and clocklike regularity that had characterized the whole expedition from beginning to end, and nothing happened to mar the solemnity of the occasion. After a heavy rain, which lasted until the early morning hours, the sun shone brightly when the naval hero's remains reached the American shore. They were met at the float by Rear-Admiral Sands, Superintendent of the Naval Academy, Chaplain Clark, and the commanding officers of the American men-of-war of the squadron who acted as pallbearers with Captain Gervais, of the *Jurien de la Gravière*, who had sent a detachment of sailors from his ship to act as an escort of honor with the sailors and marines of the American ships and the midshipmen of the fourth class of the Naval Academy.

After the leaden coffin had been placed in the hearse, the cortège proceeded slowly, accompanied by the strains of a funeral dirge played by the Naval Academy band, to the front of the temporary vault, near the new memorial chapel, where Chaplain Clark read the burial service and offered the following prayer:

"God of our fathers, we praise Thee for the life and memory of him whose mortal remains are now to find resting place under the flag he so loved, in the nation he did so much to create. We thank Thee that Thou didst show in him qualities of manhood that not only create but preserve and perpetuate nations. As all that is earthly of him is committed to the reverent care and devotion of the land whose debt to him is beyond all price, may the sublime lessons of his courage and patience and resource and hopefulness and consecration be charged anew with moral power

to more deeply fire and impress every American heart. Grant that the nation so rich in the heritage of great names may more and more guide its life by standards of highest honor and righteousness. Free us from every motive that can pervert our deeds, that can hurt our influence among the nations of the earth. Make us equal to our high trust, reverent in our use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, tender and pitiful toward ignorance and weakness; and may we walk lovingly and humbly in Thy sight, in all these ways endeavoring to show the depth of our gratitude for the men who, by the greatness of Thy call to them and in the execution of the work allotted to them, made us a sovereign people, made possible the greatness and the happiness that crown our national life. Hear us, our Heavenly Father, in this our prayer, for Christ's sake."

When the prayer had been concluded the French and American sailors who acted as body bearers carried the casket into the vault while the Naval Academy band played Chopin's Funeral March.

The pallbearers then stepped back and saluted the dead hero, a squad of marines fired a volley over the vault, and a bugler sounded taps, the strains of this exquisite tune dying out slowly, listened to by a large crowd of reverent spectators who witnessed the ceremony in dead silence. It was a most solemn and impressive spectacle, forming a fitting finale to the ceremonies that had taken place in France in honor of the famous sea captain.

Thus ended this beautiful ceremony, which now goes down to history as one of the most impressive demonstrations of international honors ever paid to a naval hero.

ORDER OF REAR-ADMIRAL SANDS

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY,
Annapolis, Md., April 14, 1906.

The President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, and other distinguished personages will visit the Naval Academy upon the 24th instant to take part in the commemorative ceremonies upon the occasion of the transfer of the body of John Paul Jones. The heads of departments will accompany the Superintendent to the station to meet the special trains and escort the distinguished visitors to the Superintendent's quarters.

2. At 12.45 p. m. the marine battalion and the band will be drawn up opposite the Superintendent's quarters to receive the President upon his arrival. After the Presidential party has entered the house, the marine battalion will be dismissed and will be detailed as patrols and sentinels, as directed by the commandant of midshipmen.

3. The brigade will be in charge of Lieutenant-Commander Hoogewerff, U. S. Navy, assisted by Lieutenant-Commander Reid and Lieutenant Buchanan, U. S. Navy.

4. The commandant of midshipmen is charged with carrying out the detail of this order, and all officers, professors, and instructors, except the heads of departments, are directed to report to him for this purpose.

5. The first battalion of midshipmen will form at 1.30 p. m., as for Sunday inspection, in the court before Bancroft Hall, having previously procured their muskets and equipments and taken them to their rooms. They will then march to the athletic field, Upshur row, to receive the President. This battalion will be on the line at 1.45 p. m. sharp, to act as a guard to the President.

6. The second battalion of midshipmen will form and equip as above, then proceed to the armory, forming in line from Governor street to the southeast door of the armory, leaving the sidewalk clear. The battalions will, subsequently, enter the armory by the northwest door. In case of bad weather, the battalions will be formed in the corridors of Bancroft Hall.

7. The Naval Academy Band will report to Commander Howard at the armory for instructions at 1.15 p. m. The band will accompany the first battalion of midshipmen to Upshur row.

8. All officers, civilian professors and instructors, and the members of their families holding tickets of admission will enter the armory by the gallery door from the colonnade and occupy such seats as will be provided for them. All persons will be required to present tickets at the door. Ushers will be appointed to attend in the armory and show visitors to designated seats.

9. All visitors holding tickets for reserved seats will enter by the northeast door. All other visitors will enter by the northwest and southeast doors.

10. The President, escorted by the first battalion of midshipmen and the band, will proceed from the Superintendent's quarters to the armory and enter by the southwest door. When the President enters the armory the audience will rise, face him, and remain standing until he takes his seat on the platform. As soon as the President and party have reached the platform the first battalion of midshipmen will be drawn up under the gallery opposite the speakers' stand, facing the platform. The second battalion will be drawn up behind the speakers' stand under the gallery. Benches will be provided for them on which to sit after the ceremonies have commenced. The ceremonies will then proceed in accordance with the programme.

11. At the conclusion of the speeches the body will be taken by the body bearers (selected petty officers from the French and American squadrons) and, preceded by both battalions of midshipmen in regular order and the band playing a dirge, be borne to Bancroft Hall. The court of honor must be kept clear and the midshipmen will form in mass on either side as the body passes up the steps to be deposited in the crypt beneath the main stairway. The space in front of Bancroft Hall is to be kept clear. The chaplain will precede the coffin and offer a brief prayer at the conclusion of the ceremony.

12. When the ceremonies over the body have been concluded, the President will be escorted to the Superintendent's quarters by the brigade of midshipmen.

13. When the President departs, the officers of the Naval Academy and the brigade of midshipmen will be in attendance.

14. The formation of the procession from the armory will be as follows:

Band.
Escort (brigade of midshipmen).
Chaplain of the Naval Academy.
Coffin.
Mourners (reversed order).

15. The uniform for the day, after 12 m., will be special full dress.

16. No vehicles, except those in the Presidential procession, will be permitted to enter the Academy grounds while the ceremonies are in progress.

JAMES H. SANDS,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. Navy, Superintendent.

ORDER OF CAPTAIN COLVOCORESSES, U. S. NAVY

[Extract.]

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY,
Annapolis, Md., April 21, 1906.

In accordance with the Superintendent's order of April 14, 1906, the following details of duty are hereby made for the carrying out of that order during the John Paul Jones ceremonies on April 24, 1906:[a]

* * * * * * *

[a] Details of officers and stations omitted.—COMPILER.

The armory will not be opened to the public until 1 p. m.

A medical officer and a sufficient force of attendants will be at the hospital during the ceremonies.

Lieut. Commander H. J. Ziegemeier, U. S. Navy, will report to Lieutenant-Commander Hoogewerff for immediate charge of the casket and body bearers during the ceremonies and transfer of the casket. He will be assisted by Lieutenant Jeffers, U. S. Navy.

At the close of the ceremonies in the armory, when the President and distinguished persons who are to be in the cortege have left the armory, all passing through the northwest doors will be stopped, and the audience will leave the armory by the southeast, northeast, and terrace doors, going from the doors to the western terrace of Bancroft Hall.

The ushers, when not needed in the armory, will assist in placing the public on the terrace.

Twelve midshipmen from the upper classes of the second battalion will be detailed to report to Lieutenant-Commander Nulton at the armory at 12.45 p. m.

All officers and others named in this order, who are not on duty at that time, will report for instruction at the office of the commandant, Bancroft Hall, at 10 a. m., 24th instant.

The French and American battalions will be placed in line by direction of the commandant, first formation facing Blake row from Maryland avenue to the armory, French battalions on the right, other battalions in order of seniority, and salute the President as he passes. They will afterwards take up a position facing Bancroft Hall on the brick walk from library to Blake row. When the United States cavalry join the formation, they will occupy the right of the line.

The casket containing the remains of Admiral Jones will be placed in the armory early in the forenoon of the 24th by men from the *Santee*, under the supervision of the officer in charge of buildings and grounds.

Twenty body bearers, selected petty officers of the French and American fleets, will be chosen to carry the casket from the armory to Bancroft Hall by way of the shell road.

The space in front of Bancroft Hall between the Superintendent's office and library and Sampson's row must be kept clear of spectators.

G. P. Colvocoresses,
Captain, U. S. Navy, Commandant of Midshipmen.

LIST OF COMMANDING OFFICERS IN THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES ASSEMBLED AT ANNAPOLIS

Rear-Admiral Sands, U. S. Navy, Superintendent Naval Academy.
Rear-Admiral Campion, commanding French Division.
Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis, U. S. Navy, commanding Second Division.
Rear-Admiral R. B. Bradford, U. S. Navy, commanding Fifth Division.
Capt. B. F. Tilley, U. S. Navy, commanding *Iowa*.
Capt. E. D. Taussig, U. S. Navy, commanding *Indiana*.
Capt. G. Lefevre, commanding *Aube*.
Capt. J. A. Rodgers, U. S. Navy, commanding *Illinois*.
Capt. E. Guepratte, commanding *Marseillaise*.
Capt. A. Huguet, commanding *Condé*.
Capt. G. P. Colvocoresses, U. S. Navy, commandant of midshipmen.
Capt. S. P. Comly, U. S. Navy, commanding *Alabama*.

The Secretary of the Navy
requests the honor of your presence at the
ceremonies in commemoration of
John Paul Jones
at the Armory of the United States
Naval Academy Annapolis Md.
on Tuesday April twenty fourth
nineteen hundred and six
at two o'clock P. M.

An answer is requested

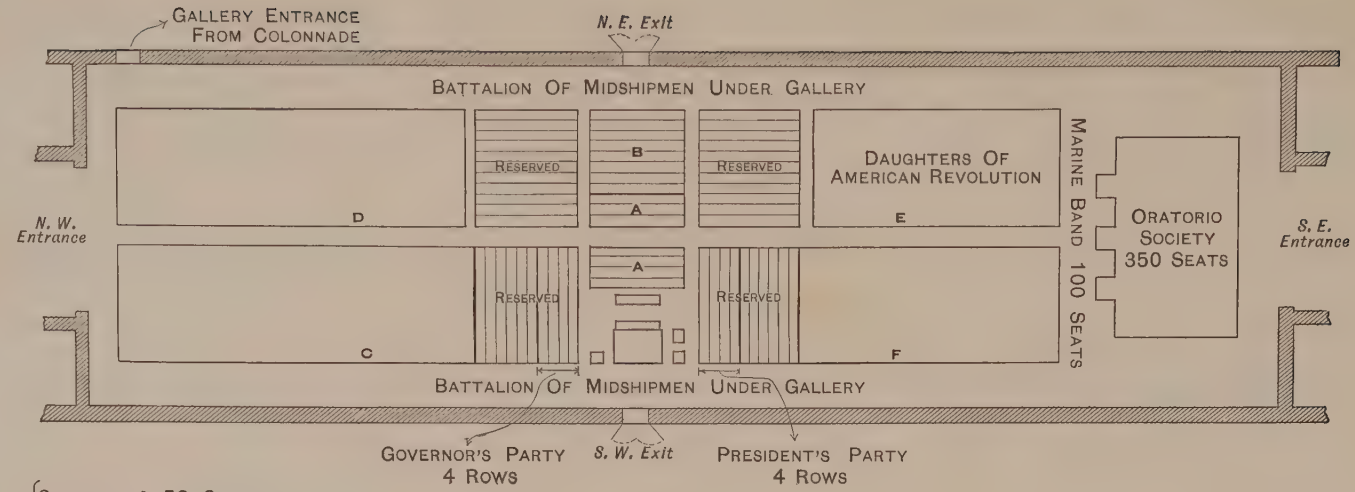
FACSIMILE OF INVITATION.

COMMEMORATION
OF
JOHN · PAUL · JONES.

APRIL 24TH, 1906

NAVAL ACADEMY. ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND.

FACSIMILE OF COVER OF PROGRAMME, APRIL 24, 1906.



SECTIONS A 52 SEATS
ADMIRALS AND STAFFS
FRENCH OFFICERS

SECTION B HEADS OF DEPTS.
AND OFFICERS AMERICAN FLEET

REMAINDER OF RESERVED SEATS FOR PERSONS
HOLDING RESERVED SEAT TICKETS

PLAN OF ARMORY SHOWING ARRANGEMENT, APRIL 24, 1906.

Commander E. F. Qualtrough, U. S. Navy, commanding *Cleveland.*
Commander W. F. Halsey, U. S. Navy, commanding *Des Moines.*
Commander B. A. Fisk, U. S. Navy, commanding *Minneapolis.*
Commander J. C. Colwell, U. S. Navy, commanding *Denver.*
Commander J. Batellet, Chief of Staff.
Commander E. Vergos, Executive officer *Aube.*
Commander F. Boyer, Executive officer *Marseillaise.*
Commander M. Delahet, Executive officer *Condé.*
Lieut. Commander A. G. Long, U. S. Navy, commanding *Mayflower.*

PROGRAMME

PARTICIPATED IN BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States.

His Excellency, J. J. JUSSERAND,
Ambassador E. and P. of the French Republic.

The Honorable CHARLES J. BONAPARTE,
Secretary of the Navy.

The Honorable EDWIN WARFIELD,
Governor of the State of Maryland.

General HORACE PORTER,
of New York.

Chaplain HENRY H. CLARK, U. S. N.

With Music by the Oratorio Society of Baltimore,
Under the direction of Joseph Pache,
And the U. S. Marine Band,
Under the direction of Lieut. W. H. Santelmann.

"The Star-Spangled Banner" ..... Oratorio Society
Address ..... The President of the United States
"The Marseillaise" ..... Oratorio Society
Address ..... The French Ambassador
"Around About Thy Starry Throne," *Handel* ..... Oratorio Society
Address ..... General Porter
"Maryland, My Maryland" ..... Oratorio Society
Address ..... Governor Warfield
"How Sleep the Brave" ..... Oratorio Society

At the conclusion of the exercises, the audience is requested to rise and remain standing while the casket is removed from the hall.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SWORD PRESENTED BY LOUIS XVI TO JOHN PAUL JONES

This fine specimen of the sword-smith's craft is now owned by Mr. Richard Dale, of Philadelphia. It was kindly lent by him and brought to Annapolis by Dr. W. Wharton Hollingsworth, representing the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, for the commemorative exercises of April 24, 1907, and was lying on the casket during the services. It was in the custody of Capt. George P. Colvocoresses, U. S. Navy, until its return to Mr. Dale.

The blade is a four-sided, double-edged rapier, of finest steel, 33½ inches long, tapering to a point, and blued for 11 inches from the hilt. Inlaid in gold are figures representing the sun, trophies, and the French royal arms of three fleurs de lis, surmounted by a crown. The motto "Vive le Roy" is engraved on both sides. The following inscription[a] (somewhat illegible, as the gold inlay has fallen out in places) is below the guard plate:

VINDICATI MARIS
LUDOVICUS XVI
REMUNERATOR
STRENUO VINDICI.

On the reverse side is lightly engraved a motto which has become obliterated by time.

The name of the maker, or more probably the furnisher, is on the blade: "La Veuve Guilmino, Versailles."

The hilt is of gold, richly chased with figures and floral decorations. The pommel is made up of two designs, the figure of Neptune with his trident in high relief, and the three fleurs de lis. The grip is ornamented on the obverse with figures of Hercules and Mars in medallions, festoons, and ribbons held in the mouth of a mythological animal, and a standard of flags; the reverse side shows the three fleurs de lis, Roman soldier, trophies, and Greek soldier.

The upper surface of the guard plate is ornamented on both sides; on one, in a medallion, is the figure of Minerva standing, also a rising sun; on the other, is Mars. The lower surface of the plate has a similar medallion of Minerva and fleur de lis. The pas d'ane and finger guard are beautifully chased with floral designs and terminate in dolphin heads.

The scabbard is of black leather, the mountings of gold, engraved with trophies and arms. The drag is quite plain. The sword is in a wooden case, fitted to its shape and lined with chamois skin and the outside covered with red morocco leather.

JOHN PAUL JONES'S SWORD

[Newspaper extract, Washington Evening Star, December 27, 1906.]

In practically the same condition as when it was used by its distinguished owner, the sword of John Paul Jones now rests in the Library of the Navy Department, where it has been placed by Commander Reginald F. Nicholson, U. S. Navy. The tradition was that Jones wanted it to be given to the senior officer of the Navy, but that, however, has never been established, and the sword has been in the possession of a number of persons outside the Navy. It is believed that the weapon originally

[a] This inscription has been erroneously published as "Vindicator Ludovicus XVI remunerator strenuo victor" in Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1904-5, p. 41, and in proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute, June, 1907, p. 711.

was given to Jones by the North Carolina family of that name at the time he changed his own name, in compliment to them.

From the best records obtainable, some of which are verified by letters and other documents in the Navy Department, the sword was given by Jones himself to Theodosia Burr, daughter of Aaron Burr. Theodosia Burr, after marrying Joseph Alston, a wealthy and talented young planter of South Carolina, who in after years became governor of the State, presented it to Judge Matthew Davis, of Charleston, who gave it to Reverend Doctor Ducachet, of Philadelphia. The latter gave it to Commodore Somerville Nicholson, U. S. Navy, and the Commodore gave it to its present owner, Commander Nicholson.

It is 30 inches long—longer than the cutlass—and is of the style commonly termed a "gentleman's sword," in vogue in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is beautiful in design, very strong, and highly tempered. The qualities as to shape and temper are very remarkable. The hilt is of white brass with the portion known technically as the basket broken away. The tang is wide and strong, and the grip piece of the handle is of wood covered with twisted copper wire.

A number of scars appear on the edge of the blade, indicating that Jones frequently had been engaged in hand-to-hand encounters.

LIST OF RECIPIENTS OF CASTS FROM THE BUST OF JOHN PAUL JONES IN THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN, NEW YORK

[From memorandum of Mr. Frank D. Millet, under whose direction these casts were made and distributed.]

Fourteen casts in plaster and six in bronze were made in 1904 from the plaster terra-cotta colored bust of John Paul Jones by Houdon.

A cast in plaster was furnished to each of the following persons and institutions:

National Academy of Design, New York.
Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D. C.
Trocadero Museum, Paris.
National Museum, Berlin.
South Kensington Museum, London.
Mr. Herbert Adams, New York.
Mr. Irving R. Wiles, New York.
Mr. J. Alden Weir, New York.
Mr. Sargent Kendall, New York.
Capt. John S. Barnes, New York.
Mr. John L. Cadwalader, New York.
Mr. F. D. Millet, in England.
Mr. F. D. Millet, in New York.
Bronze founder in New York (plaster cast ruined in making casts in bronze).

A cast in bronze was furnished to each of the following persons and institutions:

Navy Department, Washington, D. C.
U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.
Gen. Horace Porter, New York.
Mr. J. Alden Weir, New York.
Capt. John S. Barnes, New York.
Mr. John I. Waterbury, Morristown, N. J.

NOTE.—The frontispiece in this volume and the Trocadero bust, used in identification of Jones's body were furnished by Mr. Frank D. Millet, from the original plaster terra-cotta colored bust in the National Academy of Design, New York. It has been suggested that this is the original made by Houdon's hands in 1780.—COMPILER.

7257—07——14

NOTES REGARDING JOHN PAUL JONES

The miniature of John Paul Jones, said to have been painted by the Countess de La Vendahl, is at the United States Naval Academy. It came into the possession of the United States Navy through Lieut. A. B. Pinkham. (See Mackenzie, Life of Paul Jones, and article by Prof. P. R. Alger in Naval Institute, 1905.)

The gold sword presented to Jones by King Louis XVI is owned by Mr. Richard Dale, of Philadelphia. The history of this weapon is given in proceeding of U. S. Naval Institute, June, 1907, by Mr. Charles Henry Hart. Another sword, once owned by Jones, is the property of Commander R. F. Nicholson, U. S. Navy.

Miss Curtis, of Schenectady, N. Y., claims to possess the original of Jones's commission of October 10, 1776. On a facsimile copy, in Sherburne's life of John Paul Jones, edition of 1851, it is stated that the original was owned by Sherburne.

The uniform of the Navy, as worn by Jones, is given in Sherburne's "Life," etc., and American Archives, series 5, vol. 2, p. 181, Res. Marine Committee, Sept. 5, 1776.

Description of the Order of Military Merit is given in Nouveau Larousse, vol. 16, p. 38, and files of Navy Department library, No. 3702.

Lists of those who served on ships commanded by Jones are in Sherburne's and Buell's biographies and copies of the log books.

Songs, verses, and poems referring to Jones: See naval song books, Paul Jones Miscellany, Seawell, Brady, and other lives. Verses by him are in Sherburne and other biographies.

Mention that Jones experimented with torpedoes. (See Life by M. E. Seawell.)

Coat of mail worn by Jones, mentioned in New York Times, July 15, 1905. (See John Paul Jones Miscellany, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 57.)

Private Signals, John Paul Jones Miscellany, vol. 3, "John Paul Jones's Last Cruise," by Prof. H. Marion.

A flag of the *Bonhomme Richard* is at U. S. National Museum. (See John Paul Jones Miscellany, vol. 2, pt. 1.)

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United States. Congress.
Joint Committee on Printing

John Paul Jones
commemoration at Annapolis

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